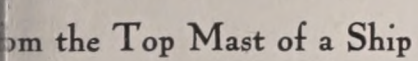








Honolulu Harbor, as Viewed



A HISTORY
OF
THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Their Resources and People

EDITED BY
DANIEL LOGAN

ILLUSTRATED

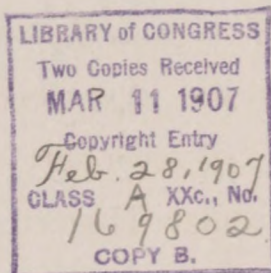


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INTRODUCTORY.

Hawaii has more or less probable traditions of prehistoric times, which, with its ancient history, have been reduced to writing by able investigators. In the forms of legendary stories for current periodicals and of papers for the Hawaiian Historical Society, the dark ages of the archipelago are being illuminated for the information and entertainment of the present generation. The records are of interest to the student of ethnology on the one hand and to lovers of weird romance on the other. Taking it in the rough, the ancient history of the Hawaiian Islands might be hastily dismissed with the assertion that it but verifies the scripture that says, "The dark places of the earth are the habitations of cruelty." Yet there are redeeming lights in the dark picture.

Against the background of tyrannical rule by a barbarian aristocracy over a savage commonalty—with an unprincipled priesthood whipping both into craven submission to a diabolical code with superstition's lash—there glitter some of the nobler traits of humanity. The ancient Hawaiians were possessed of physical and moral courage, latent though it was in many respects where it might have had extensive power of self-emancipation. They had much ingenuity of handicraft with poor material and poorer facilities of using it. The germs of taste existed in their rude arts. With considerable knowledge of the mysteries of the universe they combined the enterprise of the explorer. They had some resource of mental power, which was adorned with the flower of imagination. Their hospitality was singularly marked. It is such qualities as these that have given the Hawaiians, since

civilization came upon them, a name and fame among reclaimed races which are nowhere paralleled.

The Hawaiians are now fully enfranchised citizens of the United States, their country being an organized Territory of the Union, with equal privileges of self-government to those of people of the most favored territory of the mainland. In some respects, indeed, Hawaii has been placed on a par with the States, because of a highly organized system of government found to have existed in the islands for the greater part of a century before they were annexed to the United States. A wrong impression is prevalent, namely, that the Hawaiian Islands are merely "an insular possession" of the United States. They were such only from the passage of the resolution of Congress annexing them on June 7, 1898, until the going into effect on June 14, 1900, of an "Act to Provide a Government for the Hawaiian Islands," commonly called the "Organic Act," being the constitution of the Territory of Hawaii. That enactment, with whatever amendments may be made to it, and all the laws of the Legislature of Hawaii are subordinate to, and construed in connection with, the constitution of the United States. The customs, internal revenue and postal laws of the United States are administered here the same way as elsewhere in the Union, and the Territory is a judicial district of the nation for the administration of federal law, besides having a complete judiciary system with independent jurisdiction of all the laws of the Territory. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the Territory are final, excepting where the constitution or the laws of the United States may be involved, when an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. In this respect the Territory of Hawaii is on the same footing as a State.*

* Since this was written, the U. S. Congress has enacted that an appeal may be taken from the Hawaiian Supreme Court to the Federal Supreme Court in civil cases involving property of not less than \$5,000 in value.

INTRODUCTORY

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It is an accepted fact that the Hawaiian Islands were inhabited many centuries ago, Fornander estimating as early as the year 500 of the Christian era. Alexander says: "It is nearly certain that there were two distinct periods of emigration to these islands. The first settlers must have arrived at a very ancient time, as is proved by the discovery of human bones under ancient coral beds and lava flows." Acquaintance with the Hawaiian people by outsiders, other than Polynesians, was not made until about the close of the eighteenth century, except in some casual instances that were not divulged to the world at their occurrence. For modern historical purposes, it is fair enough to give the British navigator, James Cook, the title of discoverer of the group. He named the archipelago the Sandwich Islands in honor of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, but that name has long ago been superseded by that of the Hawaiian Islands after the largest island.

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THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

ANCIENT HAWAII.

From close similarity of language, it is evident that the Hawaiians came from Southern Polynesia. Besides that identity, there is clear tradition of intercourse between the Hawaiian Islands and the groups of the Southern Pacific during the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. There were notable voyages in both directions taken in large canoes steered along paths charted in the skies by the barbarian astronomers. Some of the voyagers had come from the south and returned thither in company with bold navigators of Hawaiian birth, whose return voyages hither generally resulted in the arrival of royal and priestly scions as immigrants to become, sometimes of original purpose and again of favorable opportunity, founders of new lines of their respective orders in the Hawaiian Islands. It is said that Kamehameha I., who conquered the islands into a united kingdom, was descended from a king thus imported by Paa, a Samoan priest who, finding the island of Hawaii without a king at his arrival, returned to the South Seas and fetched back a chief named Pili to take the position. Paa, besides setting up what was destined to be the greatest line of Hawaiian kings, himself became high priest and the office remained in his family till the last.

A triple class division placed the people of ancient Hawaii in a condition worse than slavery. The nobility comprised the kings ruling the different islands and their tributary chiefs of various grades. Next

was a sacerdotal caste including priests, sorcerers and doctors. Lastly, there were the common people, or laboring class. Between the chiefs and the common people an impassable gulf was fixed. All who were born in either class lived and died therein. There was no possibility of rising to the upper ranks open to the lowly born man, and a chief could not, either for punishment or revenge, be degraded to the common level or compelled to labor. Though his captors in warfare might immolate him upon the altar of a deity, yet if they spared his life they paid respect to his rank. Chiefs were held in awe from the belief that they were descended from the gods. Natural phenomena were interpreted as heralding both the birth and the death of a chief. Traces of such superstition are to this day discernible in the Hawaiian people, who are prone to regard happenings in nature as signs of coming events. For instance, the appearance in coast waters of a species of little red fish is deemed the forerunner of the death of a chief—the remnant of the chiefly order and survivors of the later royal families still being given recognition of rank—although for every death of a chiefish personage within a measurable period after the red fish show up there are many visits of the innocent creatures followed by prolonged immunity of aristocracy from the universal destroyer.

Owing no doubt to generations of superior living of the chiefly class at the expense of its vassals, there was a contrast of physique and demeanor between chiefs and common people. The distinction is not invisible today when all are equal under the American flag, though there had been like equality in theory for more than half a century before annexation—in practice indeed so far as the rights of person and property are concerned. Doubtless the pride of ancestry and the advantages of inherited wealth have served to maintain the chiefly dignity and well-favored presence, while the common people have failed and indeed refused—partly by weight of hereditary ignobility and partly

from retained awe of the supposedly divine quality of the "alii" (as the chiefs are called)—to rise to the full measure of human equality which was proffered to them in almost the earliest written constitution of the country.

Chiefs were graded in rank, the head chief of an island being styled "moi." This title survived throughout the full-blown monarchy—"moi" alone meaning king and "moiwahine" (the word for woman suffixed) queen. The position of head chief was usually hereditary, but his control over the tributary chiefs, ruling districts under him, was precariously dependent on the law of force. The overthrowing of monarchies in Hawaii was a pastime long antecedent to the final upset in 1893. Yet an awful spell attached to the person of an ancient Hawaiian sovereign and to his every act and habit in life, while from his death immediate to its occurrence the consequences of the divine worship accorded to him became a hideous and blighting terror to the people. When one of the highest chiefs—called tabu or sacred chiefs (alii kapu)—vouchsafed an appearance in public (some of them are said never to have come out into the daylight) the common people prostrated themselves upon the ground with a cry of terrorized warning. For the slightest breach of etiquette toward the great personage death was the penalty exacted.

"For example," Alexander says, "it was death for a common man to remain standing at the mention of the king's name in song or when the king's food, drinking water or clothing was carried past; to put on any article of dress belonging to him; to enter his enclosure without permission, or even to cross his shadow or that of his house. If he entered the dread presence of the sovereign, he must crawl, prone on the ground, *kolokolo*, and leave it in the same manner. The chief's head was especially sacred, and for anyone to touch it or occupy a posi-

tion above it would be treasonable. No subject dared to appear on the deck of a vessel when the king was in the cabin."

Distinction was drawn in death between the chief and the commoner. When a king died the district where he had lived was regarded as polluted for ten days, his heir having to remove into another district until that period ended. If his death was suspected of having been produced by sorcery, members of the "kuni" division of sorcerers were employed to avenge it. A human sacrifice was offered to provide company to the departed royalty in his journey to the other world. This practice caused a flight of many people to the mountains until the tabu period was over, for nobody of the common people could tell who should be the victim. The royal corpse was wrapped in taro and banana leaves, and buried in a grave but a few feet deep, under which a fire was kept burning to hasten decomposition, prayers being all the time repeated. At the end of ten days the body was disinterred and the bones, after being stripped of the flesh, were bundled up with cinet and covered with tapa and red feathers. The offer of a baked pig, with worship paid to the chief's bones, was the final ceremony whereby the pollution of the district was removed. Then the heir might return and take up the scepter. The bundle of bones, called an "unihipili," was stored away in a secret cave by attendants of the chief, whom, before his death, he had sworn to that service. Chiefs dreaded the possibility of having their bones manufactured into arrows or fishhooks. There was an alternative custom of depositing a chief's bones in a temple to be worshiped. Besides universal wailing, by way of mourning dead royalty, the people expressed their sorrow by various bodily self-disfigurements, such as the knocking out of front teeth, and cutting of their hair in fantastic ways, tattooing of tongues and burning of crescents on their bodies. There were a few instances of this practice even as late as the death of King Kalakaua in 1891.

Attendants on a chief were noble generally on the father's side only. A large number constituted the court, each member having his peculiar office. One remained always near the chief, bearing a fly-brush, called the kahili, to protect the royal person from insect tormentors. Another bore his spittoon. A master of the lomilomi process was on hand to massage or shampoo him. There was a host of household officers, including chief steward, treasurer, heralds and runners. In addition the chief supported and allowed to eat in his presence a swarm comprising priests, diviners, bards, story-tellers, dancers, drummers and buffoons.

There were different orders of priests, the succession being hereditary, corresponding with a host of deities worshiped by the Hawaiians. Four great gods were owned by the Polynesians, their names being Kane, Kanaloa, Ku and Lono, and they were believed to have existed since the time of primeval chaos. Though regarded as dwelling, invisible, in or above the region of clouds, yet they were supposed to appear in human form on earth. As time passed these beings, all-powerful in different major jurisdictions to which they were assigned by the worshipers, received homage under specialized functions and this resulted in a multiplication of deities. Thus, from Kane—whom some of the prayers in his honor address as father of men and founder of the world—were derived Kane-makua, a god of fishermen; Kane-puaa, the god of agriculture; Kane-nuakea, the inspirer of prophets, etc. Then there were gods of the sea, the sky, points of the compass, various great mountains, of the winds, of the lightning, of various occupations besides those already mentioned, and many animals, birds and fishes were held in awe, dread or affection, owing to the belief that in them spirits of good or evil were incarnated. Not only were there gods paired male and female but god-families, as for instance Pele, the goddess of volcanoes, and six sisters, a brother and other relatives,

who originally came from Samoa and, after living successively on Oahu, Molokai and Maui, finally settled down on Hawaii, the largest island and from time immemorial the only seat of active volcanoes in the group. Particular families of Polynesians, also, had tutelar deities attached to them, called in Hawaiian aumakuas, which in some cases were deified ancestors. Moreover, there was a group of demigods, men to whom supernatural and magical powers were attributed. Some of the higher gods required on occasions human sacrifices to placate, and of the whole category of deities malignancy was oftener the character than benignancy. The Hawaiians usually worshiped their gods through the visible intermediary of images. The principal ones, erected in large temples of which some remains exist, were fashioned of ohia wood and given hideous features to inspire terror. Others were of wickerwork covered with red feathers, having eyes of mother-of-pearl and gaping mouths fitted with teeth of sharks. Households of the common people had their own small idols, worshiped in private but on particular occasions carried to the temple. Pebbles from a certain beach and even shapeless stones were treasured as enshrining deities.

Two principal orders of temples existed, each served by its especial priestly caste, respectively sacred to Ku and Lono. Those of Ku were of higher rank, with more exclusive and severe tabus and ritual than those of Lono. The temple of Ku belonged to the highest chief of the island whereon it was situated, and it was only therein that human sacrifices could be offered. Strict specifications of material and construction were required for the building of a temple, or "heiau" as it is called in the Hawaiian language, though there was considerable variety of plan in different structures. The great heiau of Puukohola, built by Kamehameha I. in 1791, is thus described:

"It is an irregular parallelogram two hundred and twenty-four feet long and one hundred feet wide, with walls twelve feet thick at

the base, and varying in height from eight feet on the upper side to twenty feet on the lower side. The entrance is a narrow passage between two high walls, and the interior is divided into terraces paved with smooth, flat stones. At the south end is an inner court where the principal idol stands, surrounded by a number of images of inferior deities."

An oracle of wickerwork stood in the center of the court, within which the priest stood when he communicated the answers of the god to the king. The altar stood near the entrance to the inner court. It was a scaffold upon posts, whereon offerings were laid and left to moulder away. There were sacred houses for the king and priests within the walls. Hideous wooden idols of varied shape and size were mounted upon the outer walls.

Besides the heiaus there were puuhonuas, of purpose like the houses of refuge of the Hebrew system. The puuhonua was an inviolable sanctuary in time of war. To it the manslayer, the tabu-breaker, the thief and even the murderer fled from his pursuers, and, once within its walls, was safe from the avenger. Its gates were always open. The refugee on entering directly presented himself before the idol with an address of thanksgiving. A white flag at the top of a tall spear marked each end of the inclosure, a short distance from the walls, in war time. Death at the hands of the priests and their attendants was the speedy penalty inflicted upon anyone who followed or molested any person who had entered the tabued precincts.

"The most celebrated puuhonua," Alexander says, "was the one at Honaunau, which measures seven hundred and fifteen feet by four hundred and four, containing about seven acres, and is surrounded by a massive wall twelve feet high and fifteen feet thick. Formerly large wooden images stood on the walls, about four feet apart. Within this inclosure were three heiaus, built of very large stones."

Connected with the idolatry of the Hawaiians was the Polynesian tabu system in most fully developed form. Some of the tabus were permanent, having relation to the chiefs, the temples and the idols. Others were temporary, being enforced at certain times or arbitrarily decreed by the king. The system affected all the activities and relations of life. Its regulations outraged the social instincts of humanity and were enforced by cruel penalties, that of death being inflicted for acts both of intrinsic innocence and sheer inadvertence. No doubt the most atrocious tabus were those relating to women. Men and women could not eat together or even have their food cooked in the same oven. At least six houses were comprised in a Hawaiian home, namely—the family chapel, the men's eating house, the common sleeping house, the women's eating house, the house for tapa beating and a house of retirement for women during certain tabu periods. For a woman to enter the first house mentioned, the idols' sanctuary, or the men's eating house, the penalty was death. It was likewise death for a woman to eat certain kinds of food, such as pork, bananas, coconuts, turtles and different species of fish. In illustration of the rigor wherewith these laws were enforced Alexander says:

“For example, at Honaunau, Hawaii, two young girls of the highest rank, Kapiolani and Keoua, having been detected in the act of eating a banana, their kahu, or tutor, was held responsible and put to death by drowning. Shortly before the abolition of the tabus, a little child had one of her eyes scooped out for the same offense. About the same time a woman was put to death for entering the eating-house of her husband, although she was tipsy at the time. There were many tabus that related to ceremonial purity, especially in connection with funeral rites. * * * There were many occasions when no canoe could be launched, no fire lighted, no tapa beaten or poi pounded, and no sound could be uttered on pain of death; when even the dogs had

to be muzzled, and the fowls were shut up in calabashes for twenty-four hours at a time."

Time was reckoned by lunar months, an intercalary month being inserted occasionally to make up the resultant deficiency in the true year. There was a suspension of the usual religious services for four months beginning with the month corresponding to our October. In this third part of the year special services and games were held in honor of Lono. Each lunar month had four tabu periods of two nights and one day each, which were dedicated to the four great gods severally. The moon regulated all the religious services, as well as the industrial employments of the people.

An elaborate and complicated temple service consisted in part of a variety of prayers, or magical incantations, which had been handed down by word of mouth for many generations. This litany was in very ancient style, understood by only a few, and some of the invocations would occupy several hours each to recite. In some cases perfect accuracy in repeating the words was necessary to produce the desired effect, and during the recital of the most important class of prayers absolute silence on the part of the congregation was imposed, as the spell would be broken and the charm destroyed by the slightest noise. A portion of the services consisted of responses, given either by the people or a company of priests.

Analogous to the benediction of Christian worship, certain words were always used to end a service. These began with the exclamation, "Amama!" Many priests with individual specialties, in the greater temples, divided the services between them, but the king, as head of the church, presented the human sacrifices and pronounced the concluding "Amama." Only on the greatest occasions and at temples of the highest class was the human sacrifice offered. Victims were either prisoners of war or violators of some tabu regulation. Females would

appear to have been exempt from sacrifice, though not, according to the examples already quoted, from a tabu's death penalty. A procurer of victims for the sacrificial altar was known as the "Mu." His usual mode of attack was that of the sneaking assassin, striking the victim down from behind with a club. When the occasion approached for a sacrifice, there would be a flight of terrified people to the mountains. "Mu" was a word that inspired terror, continuing to have that effect long after idolatry was abolished. Corpses of victims were dragged to the temple and, after presentation to the idol, laid face down along with the carcasses of hogs, the mass being left to putrefy in the sun. Alexander states, in a footnote to a description of the sacrifice, that in 1807 four men were sacrificed in the heiau (temple) at the foot of Diamond Head because the queen, Kekuolani, was dangerously ill.

During the four monthly tabu periods before mentioned, each lasting two nights, a strictly religious king spent the time in the temple, when for any person to trespass upon its limits was to invite death. It was a breach of the tabu for women to enter canoes, or to have any intercourse with men, while the sacred period lasted.

Six months alternately two kinds of fish were tabu, most awful ceremonies marking the transition from one of such close seasons to the other. A sacred character was attributed to these particular fishes. For the removal of the first tabu on fish, taking place in January, a human sacrifice was a necessary part of the rites and, it is said, a man representing the god plucked out and ate an eye each of the fish and the dead man that were offered together upon the altar. In the July removal a pig was the piece de resistance of the offering, but the omission of the human sacrifice was compensated for, in point of barbarity, by the terribly strict tabus imposed. During the first night fire must not be kindled, nor sound of any living creature be heard. When, the following day, the head fisherman put to sea for the initial catch of

fish that was to break the tabu, the lighting of fires, the launching of canoes and the landing of canoes from abroad were prohibited under forfeiture of life to the transgressor. The fishes thus alternating in permission and prohibition of being caught were, in the native language, the aku and the opelu. Fancy such restrictions being placed on New England fishermen with respect to the cod and the mackerel!

No other religious service was regarded as being so important as the consecration of a temple, the time for which was frequently selected as just before a war with a view of securing victory. Spring was the right season. Ten priests were variously engaged in the ceremonies, for which ten or more days were taken, besides twelve days beforehand for purification. There would be a procession around the district, in which a man personating the god would be the central figure. A priest accompanied this character, while men carrying white flags walked before and behind. Different rites were performed at each land boundary, including the receipt of offerings from the people. This tour having been accomplished, on the eve of the new moon a service was held at the temple. The entire population was summoned thereto. Responses and the sprinkling of the people with holy water formed part of the ceremonies. The procuring of the idol from the forest was a prodigious matter, including an enormous procession and a human sacrifice. Before the man was offered up inquiry was made by the priest whether the tabu as to any sound of animate creature had been strictly observed. It was a good omen when the answer could be made in the affirmative. The human victim having been buried at the foot of the selected tree and a hog baked on the spot, the tree was felled, trimmed and decorated with vines. After the feast there was another procession, the bearers of the new idol being preceded by feather gods carried in front, followed by chiefs and people with ferns and branches in their hands. They yelled wildly as they marched. Villagers who were not in the train

kept within doors, for death was the doom of any person meeting the array of devotees. Arrived at the temple the idols were deposited in their places with accompaniment of shouts and drum-beats. Then came other elaborate rites. There were long prayers with rising and sitting exercises most tiresome. When, toward evening, the principal idol came to be erected, another toll of man's life was exacted. The body was buried in the hole dug for the pedestal of the image.

Several nights of varied and involved ceremonies followed, the first night being the most solemn and fateful of all. Prayers were said in every house to invoke success and good weather. If there was nothing disturbing or disagreeable in the elements, and perfect quiet had been kept by man and beast, some time after midnight the king and the high priest entered one of the small houses within the temple precincts, where the king sacrificed a pig and prayed briefly to the four great gods. Previous to this rite the high priest had uttered a long prayer, and he now questioned the king if all had gone well, including the preservation of silence, and the king's reply when favorable was the tapping of a drum. Then both went out and questioned the people who had been waiting in deathly silence before the house, and "if no one had heard a sound during the ceremony the high priest congratulated the king and predicted for him victory and long life." There was a great sacrifice made on the fourth night, in which human victims were offered with hogs, bananas, cocoanuts, red fish and white kapa. While the king and the priest of Lono were performing the rites in the temple, another priest accompanied a large crowd of fishermen to sea in quest of the ulua fish. Failing to catch any fish they killed a man in the village and, putting a hook in his mouth, dragged the body to the temple as a substitute. On the last day the women had part in the ceremonies, the king's wives clad in white offering a long, white girdle to the house of the gods. Dogs and fowls were sacrificed, as it

was lawful for the women to eat such food. Female deities were propitiated with offerings on this occasion.

Ceremonies equally fantastic, intricate and gruesome to those just described were performed during the tabu periods already mentioned and on all sorts of occasions, such as the building and launching of canoes, the starting of house construction, the collection of taxes, the beginning of ordinary avocations, etc. It is not within the scope of this work to particularize further the religious devotions of the people. There were rites at a boy's birth, at his circumcision and at his promotion, when four or five years old, to eat among men and nevermore with women. "It is a significant fact," Alexander says, "that while every other act in life was accompanied with prayers and sacrifices to the gods, there were no religious ceremonies connected with marriage. Not even the favor of the aumakuas was invoked. It was entered upon with less ceremony than fishing or planting."

Kahuna is a designation that is still often heard in Hawaii, and that with serious import to many of the natives. It signifies a class of medicine men, spiritual mediums and sorcerers who held an overwhelming influence over the minds of the ancient Hawaiians. They believed that most diseases and ailments were produced by evil spirits, and it was the trade of the kahunas to work upon this belief for their own advantage and profit. They were hired accordingly for purposes of malice and revenge. Mingled with some rude methods of healing art, such as the use of herbs and of steam and sea baths, were various ridiculous incantations and rites, divinations by dreams and omens, etc. There was a lot of eating and drinking withal, conducive to "high life" enjoyment of the kahuna himself. The principal beverage was the diluted liquor of chewed awa root, and the solid viands were baked hog, dog and squid, with a fowl offered for the aumakua—everything of course being part of the sacrificial mess. The intent of it all was to

drive out the demon of sickness from the patient, and if he did not go it was common to employ another spirit supposed to be stronger against him, which was done by employing one of a class of sorcerers who kept familiar spirits at their call as a livery stable proprietor does horses. The exactions of all these kahunas upon the living resources of families were cruelly heavy.

One of the most dreaded of the fraternity was the sorcerer who practiced the art of anaana. This was what is described in English at this day as praying another to death. Performing his diabolical functions in secret and usually at night, the anaana sorcerer was the prime bugaboo of the poor Hawaiian. To make his work effective it was requisite that he should have in his possession something that came from the person of the intended victim, like nail parings, a lock of hair, saliva, etc. Anything of the kind was the bait whereon the demon worked. Owing to this essential element in the process chiefs were never without the close attendance of their most faithful servants, who took the greatest care to destroy all such personal detritus of their masters by burning it, burying it or sinking it in the sea.

Though the kahuna sometimes may have used poison to fulfill his contract, it was usually enough that the intended victim knew the anaana sorcerer was paying him attention. His belief in the power of the kahuna, working upon his imagination, made him wilt away unto death. The anaana ceremonies were performed secretly, while the kuni sorcerers held public rites, in which fire was a medium, for practically the same murderous ends. At times the kuni ceremonies were employed to avenge the death of a victim of the anaana kahuna. In such a case some of the hair of the dead person was burned, or pieces of his liver were fed to dogs or fowls, these being forthwith cremated. The next morning the kahuna would declare he had seen the ghost of the offending sorcerer, with eyes closed and head lowered, and this

was accounted a sign of his impending death. In the *hoopiopio* and *pahiuhui* forms of homicidal wizardry, which were almost identical, the *kahuna* made certain marks in the accustomed path of the person to be done up, and when the latter unwittingly set foot upon the demarked spot he became subject to a spell certain to become fatal before many days elapsed. Then there was the art of *apo leo*, whereby a *kahuna* adept therein took away the doomed subject's power of speech. It was believed to depend on the will of the *apo leo* sorcerer whether his victim should endure dumb agony a long time or within a few days miserably perish. At a comparatively late period a poison-god named *Kaleipahoa* had its peculiar devotees. They claimed to know a poison-tree, by means of an idol fashioned from which they could encompass anyone's death.

A class of diviners called *kilokilo* worked a spiritualistic game, terrifying people with the relation of dreams about one of the two souls with which the Hawaiians believed each human being was endowed. The particular soul utilized by the *kilokilo* was one that was apt to wander away from the body. When a diviner told a person that, in a dream or vision, he had seen his estray double wandering naked, with eyes shut and tongue hanging out, it was accepted as a sign that his *aumakuas* were offended at him. Then he was only too glad to make his peace with the familiar spirits by setting up an elaborate sacrificial feast, over which the *kahuna* offered prayers for his pardon, afterward receiving a liberal fee for his services. Again, there were the *poi huane* sorcerers, claiming the power of kidnaping souls and killing them. This gave them a tremendous blackmailing advantage, for if the subject believed his soul was suffocated he would sink into decline and literally give up the ghost. More innocent than any of those already described, and indeed a useful class, were the astrologers, known as the *kilokilo hoku*, who constantly studied the heavenly bodies

and preserved the knowledge of astronomy whereby, as formerly stated, the ancient navigators piloted their canoes upon long ocean voyages. A class of soothsayers named the nanauli claimed not only ability to foretell the weather but future events—a chief's death, an imminent war, etc.—from signs in sky and sea, the movements of certain kinds of fish and other things. Finally, there were professedly inspired prophets, known as the kaula and mahaula, a somewhat harmless lot who lived in seclusion but were often engaged as counselors in the retinue of high chiefs.

Modes of burial varied according to rank and condition. Sufficient description of the obsequies of a high chief or king has already been given in another connection. Chiefs of lower rank and priests were buried in much the same way as civilized nations dispose of their dead. The bodies were laid out straight and enclosed in a manifold shroud of kapa, while the graves were marked with piles of stone and, in some cases, encircled with a palisade of high poles. A custom the same as found among certain South American tribes, of burying the dead in a sitting posture with head bound to the knees, existed among the common people. These held their funerals in secrecy at night. Sometimes the bodies were rudely embalmed with a salting and drying process. A preference was shown for depositing the dead in caves—which abound in the Hawaiian volcanic hillsides—vessels of food and water being placed alongside the remains, though often interments were made in pits near the houses. Purification of those the dead had defiled took place the morning after a funeral. First they bathed in fresh water and then they were sprinkled with holy water by a priest, who, at the close of a responsive ritual, pronounced them clean.

Notions of a future state held by the Hawaiians were both incongruous and grotesque. There were *deities* to look after departed souls, as there were to take care of the living on earth, and they were allotted,

in the Polynesian eschatology, to different ranks as well as to diverse characters. Souls of chiefs and heroes were conducted to a sort of paradise, situated on some fairy island to the west. An under world of two distinct grades, each with its own ruler, was also imagined to exist. The upper grade of these nether regions was a quite comfortable and even happy place, but the lower one was something like a standard hell. Yet even this worst abode of spirits had a food supply of lizards and butterflies, streams of running water and shade trees. A pack of brawling spooks that made night hideous was disagreeable company, however, and some Polynesian tribes owned a goddess there who made coward souls her diet. Saddest of all was that this nethermost region was the destination of a majority of the human race. A leading characteristic of the people was their belief in ghosts and haunted places, as well as in the power of malign spirits to do them bodily injury and take their lives. This superstitious bondage of the Hawaiians is not even today extinct. Some of them, in the rural districts, will not venture abroad any distance at night without a lantern. Many well-educated Hawaiians, too, have a horror of old burial grounds and ancient battle-fields.

ANCIENT HAWAIIAN INDUSTRIES.

Much industrial capacity was evinced by the ancient Hawaiians. They had arts and manufactures like those of other Polynesian tribes, though they were excelled by some in the embellishing of finished products. Much ingenuity was shown in contrivance, together with skill in execution of their handicrafts. Their trades were specialized and to some extent a matter of heritage, a father passing on to his son manual cunning of a particular kind. Having no metals, the Hawaiians had to fashion working tools out of such materials as visible resources presented. Stone, sharks' teeth and bamboo were made into cutting and hewing implements. The stone used was a close-grained lava found on the summits of Mauna Loa and Haleakala, two of the highest mountains of the group. Being an art of peculiar skill, the making of stone axes was one of the hereditary trades. It is really wonderful what the artificers were able to accomplish, with their rude tools, in the construction of canoes, the building of houses, the manufacture of textile fabrics and the making of household utensils.

An ordinary canoe was hollowed out of a single log. It had gunwales of hardwood fastened on with stitches and closing over the top at stem and stern. An outrigger to steady the craft and keep it from rolling consisted of a slender log held parallel to the canoe, out a few feet, with two curved bars athwart the canoe and lashed to the gunwales on both sides. (A perfect though modern specimen of this canoe, bought of a fisherman, was, at the close of the Greater America Exposition of 1899, presented by the writer of this book, on behalf of the people of Honolulu, to the Omaha Public Library.) Large double canoes were also built in ancient times, some of them fifty to

a hundred feet long, which supported a raised platform in the middle, whereon passengers of rank were seated. Sails were made of mats in triangular shape. Native canoeing is still to be seen at the islands, being one of the diversions for tourists. At the annual regatta in Honolulu, also, prizes for both paddling and sailing Hawaiian canoes are warmly contested. The older natives, especially, preserve a high degree of the skill of their ancestors in managing canoes amidst tremendous surf breakers.

Hawaiian houses consisted of a timber framework thatched with grass, leaves and ferns. Expert craftsmen both in framing and thatching were employed. Technical names were given to the different sticks of the frame, the joints of which were secured with cord, and minute rules were observed in the entire construction. The thatching of the corners and ridgepole, where the weather was apt soonest to make its influence felt, was especially particular work. There was much labor required in providing the housebuilding material. To chop down hardwood trees with stone axes must have been a trifle arduous, and when felled the timber had to be dragged for miles to the seashore villages. Then the binding cord had to be braided and the thatching stuffs collected.

Of oblong shape, the houses had low sides and steep roofs, low and narrow doors, but seldom any windows. Houses of the chiefs were large, some being from forty to seventy feet long and twenty feet wide. The common people dwelt in huts little better than kennels, of ten by six feet on the ground plan and four feet high, with a hole in the side for entrance and exit.

Too bad it was that the finer qualities of their industry should have been marred by the mummerly and the murder of their heathenism. Unless the advice of a diviner were strictly observed in laying down the groundwork and in combining the parts of the superstructure, the

Hawaiian believed that any such variances from standard were obliquities that would bring the penalties of sickness and death. In the case of a chief's habitation, the errors would have to be expiated by human sacrifices. Hence when the adverse report of the spiritual architect upon a hut-palace was bruited, many of the common people scampered for the mountains to avoid the sneaking Mu with his death-maul. There were priestly ceremonies at the cutting of a doorway in the thatch. Before it was occupied by the owner, offerings and prayers were made and, usually, a priest slept a night or two in the house. Similarly, everything connected with the making of a canoe, from the selection of the tree to the launching of the little bark, was done under the supervision of the kahunas and accompanied with most drastic tabus. During the ceremony next before the launching, profoundest silence was dictated. Any sound of living creature, or the unbidden arrival of anyone, meant direst luck to the canoe and its users.

In agriculture, the chief product of the Hawaiians was the taro, a root grown in patches kept immersed in water. There is a species of taro cultivable in dry ground, but it is not so good as the other. From the taro the people until this day obtain their chief dish—poi—which consists of the root brayed into a paste with added water and allowed to ferment to a bland sourness. It is eaten with fish—dried, raw and cooked, sometimes all these styles together. With roast pig and herbs added, the meal takes on the dietetic value of a banquet. The Hawaiians also raised sweet potatoes in the dry and stony lands, besides which they cultivated the sugar-cane, bananas, gourds for calabashes, the paper-mulberry for tapa-cloth and awa for its narcotic roots. Yams were grown in some parts. Of fruit growing wild were the breadfruit, the cocoanut, the ohio (Malay jambo), the strawberry, gooseberry and raspberry. In recent times the bulk of the Hawaiian people has neglected agriculture (though the teaching of practical farm-

ing in several schools now in vogue will probably cause a change for the better). Now they largely buy their poi of Asiatic producers with the wages earned in other occupations. The ancient Hawaiian farmer had for his chief implement a stick of hard wood, either pointed or shaped like a spade. "With these rude tools," Alexander says, "extensive works were carried out, such as building terraces, leveling and embanking their taro-patches, and constructing irrigation ditches, often miles in length."

Hawaiian fishermen plied their calling with hooks and spears, nets and baskets, also with poison, and in no other occupation were the people more skilful. Though here, again, on the practical side of the industry, the modern Hawaiians have abdicated to the Chinese and Japanese. Yet the elder generation especially still retains much of the fish-lore for which their progenitors were distinguished. These present-day Hawaiians are familiar with an extensive list of the food fishes of the adjacent ocean, and are authorities requiring to be consulted, by anyone seeking a choice fish dietary, upon the respective styles of cooking for different kinds. The fishermen of the olden times were not only thoroughly intimate with all of the various species of fish, but with their habits and feeding grounds. They knew the shoals and hidden rocks, together with the finny tenantry thereof, for miles out to sea. Hooks were made in many styles, of bone, mother-of-pearl, whales' teeth and tortoise-shell. Fishnets were fashioned of twine spun from the fiber of olona. Besides bag nets, there were long nets. The nets of the latter kind, sometimes more than a hundred fathoms in length, were used in different ways. One method was to draw them into circles, enclosing shoals of fish in the operation. Again they would be stretched out and a long sweep of dried leaves hanging from a rope be dragged toward them, so as to drive the schools into the meshes. By either mode prodigious hauls were made. Spearing was done under

water by divers or in shallow water at night with the aid of torch-light. Fishing with poison was done by the use of a poisonous plant. This was bruised and placed by divers in the spaces beneath stones frequented by fish. Overcome by the poison the fish would float to the surface and be gathered by the fishermen.

Among the most wonderful works of ancient Hawaii were vast fishponds along the coast at many places. Their construction is attributed to the first period of human habitation of the islands, perhaps from 1,000 to 1,500 years ago.

Simple though the furniture and utensils of a Hawaiian household were, in their manufacture patience and skill were highly developed. Calabashes—bowl-shaped vessels of various sizes from that of immense tureens to drinking cups—were fashioned with stone adzes out of the beautifully grained koa and kou woods, and finished in exterior polish and interior smoothness equal to fine earthenware. (Polynesians were unacquainted with the art of pottery.) Besides calabashes and trays of wood, the Hawaiians made for themselves utensils of stone. They moreover utilized different species of gourds for water bottles and for small drums to accompany the hula dance. Floor mats and sleeping mats were made by the women from pandanus leaves, rushes, etc. This, happily, is not a lost art like some of their others with the Hawaiians today, as many of the young women are adept at the plaiting of men's and women's hats, fans, lamp mats, etc., of leaves and grasses. The oldtime mats were dyed in fancy patterns. Beds were composed of a layer of rushes covered with mats, spread upon a platform two or three feet high running across one end of the house.

Kukui nuts furnished the people with a means of lighting their houses at night. The nuts having been baked in an oven and shelled, their kernels were strung on a sliver of bamboo or cocoanut leaf. This

formed a candle, each nut burning about four minutes and, as it burned out, igniting the next one beneath. Stone lamps with tapa wicks and kukui-nut oil or fish-oil were also employed.

Cloth was made, exclusively by the women, out of the bark of the paper mulberry and that of another tree (scientifically named respectively *Broussonetia papyrifera* and *Pipturus albidus*). Strips of the bark were peeled off and afterward scraped with shells to remove the outer coat. Then the strips were soaked in water and one after another beaten upon a smooth log with a square mallet of hardwood, finely grooved on its face, until the material became like coarse paper. A web of the dimensions wanted was obtained by overlapping the edges of the strips and beating them into a continuous, seamless and cohesive texture. The qualities of tapa ranged from the semblance of muslin to that of leather. Finally, the tapa was decorated with considerable artistic taste. Sometimes it was bleached white and again it was stained with dyes. Fancy patterns in great variety of design and color were produced by means of stamps of bamboo, and after being thus impressed the tapa received a glazing of gum or resin. As clothing material tapa would not bear washing, nor stand wear for more than a few weeks. At a church fair in Honolulu about fifteen years ago one of the attractions was an exhibition of tapa-making, but the performers were aged, and a few years later a very old woman, making the article at the home of a Hawaiian antiquarian in Honolulu, was said to be one of the few last survivors in the art.

On the subject of raiment Alexander says: "The dress of the women consisted of the pa-u, a wrapper composed of five thicknesses of tapa, about four yards long and three or four feet wide, passed several times around the waist and extending below the knee, while that of the men was the malo or girdle, which was about a foot wide and three or four yards long. The kihei or mantle, about six feet

square, was occasionally worn by both sexes. It was worn by the men by tying two corners of the same side together, so that the knot rested on one shoulder, and by the women as a long shawl. The *tapa moe* or sleeping *tapa* was made of five layers of common *tapa*, three or four yards square. The outside piece (*kilohana*) was stained or painted with vegetable dyes."

Magnificent feather cloaks and helmets formed a portion of the state apparel of chiefs. The groundwork of the cloaks was a netting of native hemp, to which feathers were attached so skilfully that a perfectly even nap was produced. The surface was as smooth as if the plumage had grown there. Two kinds of indigenous birds yielded delicate feathers, the *oo* from a tuft under each wing and the *mamo* from its back. These were the choicest feathers and reserved for royalty. More common feathers in different colors entered into the capes and cloaks of the lower chiefly ranks. Specimens of royal feather cloaks have been preserved and are to be seen in the British Museum (London) and the Bishop Museum (Honolulu). It is said that the cloak of Kamehameha I. took nine generations of kings to construct.

Feather helmets had frames of wickerwork and were covered with yellow or scarlet feathers, the latter being from the natively named birds *iiwi* and *akakane*. Above the part enclosing the skull a crescent shaped crest arose, curving over at the front and tapering in depth toward the other end. It was a picturesque headpiece, but one to enhance the fierce aspect of a warrior.

Other insignia of the chiefs, relatively indicating rank both by richness and size, were known as *kahilis*. These were cylindrical and inverted cone shapes, fifteen or eighteen inches in diameter, fastened to staffs from ten to thirty feet long. They were composed of feathers upon a frame of sticks. The staffs were decorated with rings of tortoise shell or ivory. In state processions they were carried by retainers

called kahili-bearers, and were held upright or planted in the ground at stations where royalty posed. Thus, down to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 the kahilis were displayed at the opening and closing of the Legislature by the sovereign, at state receptions and the obsequies of royalty. As for the last-mentioned, too, kahilis have been brought out at the funerals of royal personages and descendants of chiefs dying since the passing of the monarchy. In any of the corteges accompanying several members of the Kamehameha line and the Kalakaua dynasty to the tomb within the past quarter of a century, nothing has been more impressive, as linking past and present, nor likewise more picturesque, than the veritable moving forest of kahilis flanking the catafalque.

An important ornament worn by ruling chiefs, being indeed a badge of authority, was a pendant in the form of a hook made of whale or walrus tusk, its support or ribbon consisting of multiplied braids of human hair. One trait of the Hawaiians was their delight in flowers and other natural growths for personal adornment. The yellow flower of the ilima was and is a favorite material for wreaths—or leis in the native language—to wear around the head and the neck. Various fruits and seeds, of more or less bright colors and keeping properties, were made into necklaces, and tourists today are offered such articles in local curio stores and by flower sellers in the streets. Feather leis for head and neck, bracelets and necklaces of shells and ivory, and charms of polished kukui nut shells also belong to the category of Hawaiian ornaments. Tattooing was but little practiced by the Hawaiians, and never in the way either of costuming or indicating rank. Occasionally it was done to accentuate mourning and some women had the back of the hand tattooed. Women trimmed their hair short at the forehead and temples, setting the edges up with an earthy wash.

LIVING AND LIFE.

Anyone who has partaken of a Hawaiian feast in the ancient style—a luau as it is called in native—will have high respect for the culinary skill of the Hawaiians. You can have it today, with or without modern table implements, as luaus in celebration of birthdays, weddings and anniversaries of organizations are among the commonest of present day functions. They occur in most charity and church festivals, and latterly have been made a leading feature in the entertainment of tourists. The method of cooking is the usual Polynesian one of steaming the food in an underground oven—called the umu in Hawaiian—by means of heated stones. In the olden time fire was obtained by the vigorous rubbing of a pointed stick in a groove in another piece of wood until the dust thus formed became ignited. There is not a great gap between this mode of starting a blaze and that of the flint and tinder box employed in not very remote times of the civilized world. But, to return to the cuisine, it should be said that meats, fish, vegetables and fruit baked in the earth-pit of the Hawaiian chef have a flavor and succulence that the best patents of modern steel ranges can neither preserve nor impart. The Hawaiians made salt by collecting sea-water in ponds and letting the sun evaporate it, besides which they obtained it from a salt lake near Honolulu upon whose surface the article collected in a thick crust. From both of these sources has salt for commercial purposes, until the present time, or very recently, been developed. The ancient Hawaiians appear to have owned what other Polynesians lacked, the art of preserving fish and pork and the knowledge of seasoning food with salt.

Though not acquainted with the distilling and fermenting arts to produce intoxicants, the Hawaiians had a narcotic beverage obtained from the roots of the awa plant. The substance was chewed and placed

in a bowl, where water was poured upon it. When the resulting infusion was strained through a fibrous sieve it was ready to be drunk. Its effects were stupefying, but in modern times the natives have found awa liquor an antidote to alcoholic intoxication. The chiefs and priests reserved the indulgence in awa, as a rule, to themselves. Civilization has given the natives knowledge of distilling, whereby a spirit known as okolerhao is produced from the root of the ti plant.

There was nothing in the nature of money in use among the Hawaiians, hence their internal commerce was conducted through a system of barter. Manufactured articles and agricultural products differed in excellence as yielded by various districts, so that a motive for exchange producing a considerable trade between different parts of the islands existed. Periodical fairs were held in advantageous localities, notable among which were the banks of the Wailuku river at Hilo.

ANCIENT AMUSEMENTS.

Athletics in relation to higher education is a subject much discussed nowadays. It may complicate attempts to solve the problem with advantage to civilization if there be imported into the premises the fact that these barbarians of ancient Hawaii were greatly devoted to sports. They not only possessed a large variety of games, but they were what today is known as "sporty" to an intense degree. Their New Year's festival (makahiki), held in the latter part of the month nearly corresponding to our November, was given over mainly to sports and gambling. Most of their games had betting as the chief incentive, men and women being ready to back their favorites with everything they owned. The usual finale of a field day was a general row between the respective partisans of different champions.

Boxing (mokomoko) was of all games held the highest in esteem. It had rules as definite as the Marquis of Queensberry's, with umpires

to enforce them. From the diverse retinues of chiefs or from different districts the champions came forth, attended each by his coterie of clackers. "As many as ten thousand spectators were present on these occasions," Alexander says. "A knock-down or blood-starting blow was followed by deafening yells, dancing, and beating of drums by the surrounding multitude. The elated victor strutted around the ring, challenging others to the contest, until he met his match. It was not uncommon for several to be left dead in the arena during one of these games. Less fatal in their results were the games of hakoko (wrestling) and kukini (foot races), which were very popular."

A species of bowling was a favored pastime. For this a level track about a yard wide and a half mile long, smooth and hard, was prepared. At a distance of thirty or forty yards two short sticks were driven, a few inches apart, into the track. The game was then to roll a stone disk, three or four inches in diameter and about an inch thick, along the track so as to pass between the sticks. Besides thus making a goal—as moderns would call it—there was competition in distance bowling. The record in this is said to have been more than a hundred rods, or from 1,650 to 1,700 feet. Specimens of the bowling stones are now treasured among rare Hawaiian curios. An allied game to the bowls consisted in driving short and blunted darts to make them pass between two darts laid upon the track at a given distance. Children played this game, using for darts sugar-cane flower stalks.

Though Hawaii has no snow but on its tallest mountain tops, the oldtime people indulged in tobogganing or coasting. A popular sport was sliding down hill on a sled composed of runners twelve or more feet in length and three inches in depth, set some four inches apart and joined with cross-pieces at intervals of a foot or so, upon which two long sticks supporting a wickerwork platform were fastened. Upon a chosen hillside a smooth slide was made, which extended some way

over a plain at bottom, the track being covered with dry grass. Grasping the sled in the middle with his right hand, the coaster took a few yards' run to the head of the slide, then flung himself with full might upon the sled—and away he went, coursing head-first down the declivity. The impetus gained in the descent carried the sled with its occupant far out upon the level stretch, the entire run sometimes being half a mile. This sport was called “holua” and its vehicle “papa holua.” Latter-day Hawaiians do not practice holua or tobogganing. This is not necessarily on account of a loss of delight in the potency of motion, but steam railroads have been available to them now for a generation and latterly the trolley car cheaply supplies their nature with moving exhilaration.

Surf-riding upon boards made for the purpose, as well as in canoes, is, however, a sport which has been kept alive by the natives until now. Foreigners, too, have learned it measureably well and to the strenuous tourist the pastime is a supreme delight at the beach resorts near Honolulu. To career upon the back of an incoming ocean swell, which rolls at a great height with frequently breaking crest of silvery foam, and be left stranded in the ever-gliding white sand of the beach when the carrying wave recedes, is an experience thrilling beyond description. The surf-board is a thin plank of hardwood, say eight feet long and eighteen inches broad, stained black and given the polish of glass. It is taken to sea by the swimmer, who dives beneath the coming billows, until he reaches the outer line of breakers springing over the coral reef. Then, selecting the highest wave that comes, he throws himself flat upon the board, balancing it just upon the crest, and goes plunging forward like a fish torpedo until the roller thins out swishingly on the beach. Surf-riding in canoes calls for a rare degree of expert skill in handling the craft. An outlander must not venture it save as a passenger.

Many sports and games were much like what is common in civilized lands. Leaping from a precipice into deep water, swinging from a tree by a rope, rope-skipping, kite-flying, stilt-walking, top-spinning and various string games were in the ancient catalogue of amusements. The Hawaiians had a checker game of their own, played with black and white pebbles upon a board of many squares. They had a guessing game wherein two parties were matched, the winning of which consisted in the majority of times it was guessed under which of five bundles of tapa a stone had been hidden, the respective players of the opposing teams taking turns in hiding the stone. A guess was made by striking a bundle with a feather-tipped rod. There were games played always at night in specially made inclosures, which were too heathenish in nature to be described at this day. Cock-fighting was much favored. Few games were played without having things of value staked upon the results. The chiefs practiced shooting mice with bow and arrow as part of certain religious ceremonies.

MUSIC AND DANCING.

Musical instruments in some variety were employed by the Hawaiian minstrels. There was a rude kind of guitar with two or three strings. Flutes, blown with the nose and having two finger holes, were made of small gourds and of bamboo joints. Within a year or two past a "nose-flute" player was an attraction at a public entertainment in Honolulu. Drums were made of hollowed wood and of cocoanut shells, covered with shark-skin, as well as of a pair of gourds one upon another—the last-mentioned being used in beating time for the hula dance, and thus quite common today in the greatly modified survival of that exercise.

Vocal music with the Hawaiians did not go beyond a chanting register. They were most affectionately devoted to poetry and their

chants (meles) related to all phases of religion, also were employed in the glorification of chiefs—including praise of their ancestors, in demonstrations of mourning and in the expression of love sentiments. Genealogies and historic data were preserved in poetic form and some poems had been handed down by oral tradition for centuries. They were highly figurative, abounding in lists of names and allusions to mythology, to topical winds and rains, to places and favorite flowers, etc. The poems were without rhyme, “in the European sense,” as Alexander says. “They consisted of short musical sentences or lines, divided into bars or measures, with great attention to the accent and cadence of the concluding word. Sometimes they were divided into stanzas, each stanza ending in a refrain or chorus.” Poetry had a style and diction quite distinct from prose details, an example being the use of the letter “t” instead of “h” always—which may be compared to the employment of archaic pronouns “thou” and “ye” in English at the present day for antique or solemn effect. Mele-singing by aged Hawaiians has been heard in recent years at royal funerals. Ellis the historian has left the following translation of a passage from a dirge composed in memory of a famous chief (Keeaumoku):

Alas, alas, dead is my chief,
Dead is my lord and my friend;
My friend in the season of famine,
My friend in the time of drought,
My friend in my poverty,
My friend in the rain and the wind,
My friend in the heat and the sun,
My friend in the cold from the mountain,
My friend in the storm,
My friend in the calm,
My friend in the eight seas.
Alas, alas, gone is my friend,
And no more will return.

Dancing was practiced in various forms. The dancers were mainly professional and generally women. Dances were picturesque to a degree from the habilaments of the performers, though their chief artistic merit was the rhythmic effect of the perfect time kept. Dancing women wore a decorated skirt, with wreaths on the head, bracelets of hog's teeth on the wrists, the whale's-tooth ornament previously described on the neck and buskins of dog's teeth on the ankles. Names were given to dances indicative of their respective musical accompaniments, such as the striking of breasts in unison, the thumping of a calabash, the rattling of a double-gourd drum, or the clashing of sticks, all in measured beats. There was little or none of the evolutionary in the elements of Hawaiian dances. The performers usually held permanent stations on the floor or arena, and their movements consisted of bending, swaying, twisting, stamping and pointing, the respective gestures harmonizing with the sentiments the particular dance was intended to illustrate. There were dancing performances specifically in worship of the gods or in honor of the chiefs, yet the majority were of sensual significance and accompanied with lewd songs. Some dances were executed by a large number of women massed in squares. Though, as already said, women did most of the dancing, men had a rôle of buffoonery to perform between the terpsichorean acts and there were mild forms of dancing in which children engaged. Hula dancing still has a somewhat fitful existence in the islands. At least in public exhibitions, it is shown greatly expurgated from the ancient style. Of late one of the leading hotels in Honolulu has given exhibitions of hula dancing in conjunction with Hawaiian feasts (luaus). Specimens of the hula have been given at the Hawaiian villages, so-called, upon the midways of many universal expositions in the United States, but such villages with their grass huts and dancing girls have never been connected with Hawaii's official exhibits, the authorities and commercial bodies at

home being greatly averse to having Hawaii of the present so grossly misrepresented abroad. Grass huts are constructed in Hawaii today solely for decorative and show purposes and the hula is practiced but rarely and, to a great extent, clandestinely among the natives themselves, though, as already shown, it has been modifiedly revived at the capital to tickle the curiosity of visitors from the outside world. Nevertheless, it is not really the "hulahula" of the ancients, for there is no quality of superstition abiding in it now. According to Alexander, the professional hula dancers of old were devotees of the foul goddess Laka, who had a shrine fitted up for her worship at which prayers were offered and votive gifts presented. With Laka's worship some of the strictest tabus were associated, the sacrifice of a hog being the appropriate finale.

CIVIL CONDITIONS.

Mention has been made of the insuperable social barrier existing between chiefs and people. Naturally in such manner of civil government as obtained the difference between rulers and ruled was quite as strongly marked. The common people owned nothing that could not be required at their hands by the chiefs. Until the conquests of Kamehameha I. ending at the beginning of the nineteenth century in one united kingdom, it is here to be remembered, each of the four largest islands was a kingdom of itself—sometimes even one of them being under divided sovereignty. Feudal land tenure like that of Europe in the middle ages vested the ownership of the soil in the king, who portioned it out to the high chiefs. These further subdivided it among a lower grade of chiefs, thus on down to the common herd whose members were allotted small patches whereon they raised a poor subsistence for themselves. It was a mere tenancy at will which the tillers of the soil possessed, and it was not unusual for the working population to shift from place to place. Those in a particular district

were the serfs of its petty chief, who in turn was tributary to a high chief, to whom the king looked for men and means required for his purposes of peace and war. The migratory liberty just mentioned was about the only guarantee the common people had—apart from the inherent power of any oppressed people to have recourse to conspiracy and sedition—for considerate treatment from their immediate liege lord. They might leave his domains and become the tenants of another district chief, and a chieftain without followers would be in a despicable position indeed. Moreover, there was a redistribution of lands at the accession of a new king, from which civil war frequently arose. Also when a chief died the king divided his property among surviving chiefs, Yet when it came to the levying of tribute upon the soil and its occupiers there resulted oppression from which the abject toilers could not escape.

Had the people been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their toil without the exaction of outrageous toll, they might have worked out a tolerable condition of self-support. But the chiefs claimed ownership of everything produced by labor in agriculture, handicraft and fishing. It is said that the laboring class was permitted to retain but one-third of what its industry produced, the remaining two-thirds being appropriated by the chiefs and the king. Not only was the substance of the people thus taxed exorbitantly, but inordinate demands upon their time and labor were enforced. First of all, the whole kingdom was subjected to the royal tax, whereby the various grades of fiefs, beginning with the lowest, rendered tribute each to that above till ultimately a vast mass of the material wealth of the kingdom was heaped at the feet of the sovereign. Then, upon certain days of every moon, the labor-tax was levied. This was the compulsory service of the people in cultivating the lands personally held by the chiefs or in performing other servile or skilled labor as might be required. Again, at any time,

the working class was liable to be drafted for building operations of a public character, such as construction or repair of temples, houses for chiefs, fish-ponds, etc. Moreover, when a king or a high chief traveled in state, the resources of the country were devastated to provide luxurious fare for himself and a horde of retainers. If such provision were not made voluntarily, and promptly at that, the servants of the despot would violently despoil the miserable dependents of the soil, leaving them sometimes in a state of utter destitution.

Autocratic power at the fountain head and in its delegated ramifications was somewhat tempered by traditionary law and proverbs handed down from the ancients. Thus there was a system of regulating the irrigation of lands, whereby each holding received a certain share of the available running water. Crimes against property and the person were usually punished by private modes of revenge, though if the injured party was not strong enough to avenge his wrong he employed a sorcerer or complained to the chief. When the rude justice administered brought the death penalty, the executioner was apt to carry out the sentence when the culprit was asleep.

DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

There was not much ceremony in the contracting and celebrating of marriages except among the ruling orders. As a matter of state policy the chiefs were expected to marry women of highest rank, for it was from the mother that rank was mostly derived. The son of a chief would be noble though the father were plebeian, while the children of a chief by a wife of low degree were not eligible to the father's rank. Sometimes brothers and sisters in the reigning families intermarried so as to have children of the highest possible degree, such progeny being given a special title of distinction. In high life the consent of relatives, the brothers especially, was usually obtained for a

marriage, though the women as often proposed as the men. An exchange of presents was customary. Children were in rare cases betrothed in tender years, when the pair would be sedulously watched until married. Most ordinarily the main ceremony of marriage was the casting by the bridegroom of a piece of tapa over the bride in presence of her relatives, or their friends would throw the cloth over both of them together. A practice among chiefs of high rank was for the contracting parties to arrive in state, attended by their retinues, and join noses while the assembly shouted, "The chiefs are married." Divorce was just a trifle easier than it is today in Chicago, as the husband could unceremoniously put away the wife whenever he pleased. While polygamy was permissible in all grades, the chiefs almost exclusively availed themselves of the privilege. It was rather expensive for the commonalty.

Infanticide was shockingly prevalent up to the time of the overthrow of idolatry. Alexander saying on this subject: "It was the opinion of those best informed that two-thirds of all the children born were destroyed in infancy by their parents. They were generally buried alive, in many cases in the very houses occupied by their unnatural parents. On all the islands the number of males was much greater than that of females, in consequence of the girls being more frequently destroyed than the boys. The principal reason given for it was laziness—unwillingness to take the trouble of rearing children." When the same authority states that "it was a very common practice for parents to give away their children to any friends who were willing to adopt them," he relates something of whose truth there are many living examples in the islands today. Old age fared not less ruthlessly than infancy, the decrepit and the diseased being sometimes abandoned to die or even given quick dispatch. Stoning to death was a not unknown means of getting rid of the mentally imbecile.

WAR PRACTICES.

Although there was no regular army the people, especially those immediately employed by the chiefs, were trained to use weapons. Sometimes they were drilled in sham battles. Their weapons were the long spear, the short spear or javelin, the dagger and the club. They used the bow only in such sport as the shooting of rats, but they employed the sling in war with great effect. Having no shields they were remarkably adept in catching and parrying thrown spears. Vancouver, the British navigator, in witnessing a sham fight saw six spears thrown simultaneously at Kamehameha I., who caught three of the weapons, warded off two and dodged the sixth.

The Hawaiians utilized hills and hummocks for cover in battle, and where no such natural protection existed they constructed forts. Yet as a rule they fought in the open plain, having little of strategical tactics in their warfare, and were not much given to the practice of lying in ambush. Reliance upon the gods was evidenced by the carrying of idols into battle, while the priests grotesquely ventured aid by rushing forward with horrible grimaces and dreadful yells to terrify the foe. Wives of warriors frequently made up a commisariat corps, carrying food and water in the rear, and shared with their spouses the forfeit of life. The body of the first man killed on either side was dragged to the priest and by him offered as a sacrifice to his particular deity.

Quarter was usually denied to the vanquished, the victors harrying them from out whatever cover they might have gained and ruthlessly clubbing them to death. Even the dead were not respected, bodies being mutilated and left to rot above-ground. One redeeming feature of Hawaiian barbarism, as compared with that of other Polynesian tribes, was that cannibalism was not practiced. Indeed the

Hawaiians had an utter loathing of cannibalism. However, they did have a gruesome practice of preserving the bones and teeth of enemies killed in battle as trophies of victory.

Their war canoes would appear to have been more used as transports than as battleships, yet occasionally there were great sea fights with opposing fleets of a hundred or more craft.

SOME ANCIENT REIGNS.

Having briefly sketched what may be taken as the stage setting, it is now in order to introduce some glimpses of the real drama of ancient Hawaiian history. Mention has been made of the wonderful maritime intercourse between Hawaii and the groups of the South Seas. Amidst abounding series of migrations throughout Polynesia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries many notable voyages are recorded. A famous chief named Moikeha went from Hawaii to a place supposed to lie in the Society Islands, accompanied by his brother, his wife and a young chief named Laa, his adopted son, together with a considerable retinue. Moikeha and his relatives became chiefs in their new home, but after a time a family quarrel disturbed their domain. This induced Moikeha to return to his native country, taking a band of chiefs and retainers with him in a fleet of canoes. They selected Wailua, Kauai, as their landing place, and Moikeha having married a daughter of the high chief Puna became, on his father-in-law's death, king of Kauai. In his old age he sent an expedition to the South Seas to fetch back Laa, his foster-son, whom he had left in Kahiki, as the southern region was called. Laa arrived home with a large retinue, including a famous sorcerer and prophet. He took up his abode at Kualoa, Oahu, and three sons born to him there were the progenitors of the high chiefs of Oahu and Kauai. After the death of his foster-father, however, Laa went back to Kahiki never to return.

Following the departure of Laa the islands were favored with two and a half centuries of comparative peace. In that period the kings seldom went to war with each other, and each insular kingdom made

progress in developing its material resources. Great irrigation and other works of public utility were constructed and the population multiplied. To this somewhat halcyon period, however, four centuries of closely intermittent brawling succeeded.

Kalaunuiohua, king of Hawaii, undertook the conquest of the remainder of the group near the close of the thirteenth century. Embarking an army in a large fleet he successively subdued the principal chiefs of Maui, Molokai, and the district of Ewa and Waianae on Oahu. Taking the three captive chiefs alive with him he proceeded to Kauai, but only to meet his Waterloo at the landing place near Koloa on that island. The warriors of Kauai led by Kukona captured his fleet and destroyed his army, and thereafter until the nineteenth century the independence of that island was maintained. Within this time there were invasions and counter-invasions, conducted by chiefs of different islands, singly or allied, in expeditions for conquest from one island to another, and even from district to district of individual islands. Few of the triumphs achieved seem to have been durable in intended results, while sometimes the disaster that overcame the invaders was proportioned to the formidableness of the offensive operations. Thus three high chiefs of Hawaii enlisting the aid of another from Maui invaded Oahu, but Mailekukahi met them near their landing place in the Ewa lagoon and defeating them filled a ravine with the carcasses of the invading host. Kipapa, the name of the ravine, means a paving of corpses.

“It was an era of strife, dynastic ambitions, internal and external wars on each island, with all their deteriorating consequences of anarchy, depopulation, social and intellectual degradation, loss of liberty, loss of knowledge, loss of arts.” Quoting from Fornander the passage here given, Alexander adds: “Wars became more frequent and more cruel, while the common people became more and more degraded and oppressed, and were probably decreasing in numbers here as well as in

Tahiti before the end of the eighteenth century." This refers to the last period of ancient Hawaiian history, covering three hundred and fifty years up to the conquest of the group by Kamehameha.

Umi is described as the most famous chief during this period, and his valorous career makes a thrilling tale. He reigned over Hawaii about A. D. 1500. His father was Liloa, a celebrated king, and his mother a woman of low rank. Not until he was about sixteen years of age was Umi's rank made known to him. Then his mother made the momentous divulgence, at the same time investing him with the royal insignia—the red malo, the wreath of yellow feathers, the whale's-tooth ornament—pledges of his begotten rank which had been left with her by the king.

Wearing the regal investiture Umi went to Waipio, where he burst into the presence of the aged king, undaunted at the shouted warnings of death from the tabu guardians. "Who art thou?" Liloa challenged. "I am Umi, thy son," the youth replied as he showed the king the regalia of royalty. Recognizing the tokens, Liloa acknowledged Umi as his son and second in rank but to Hakau, heir of the kingdom. A fine athlete and well trained in the arts becoming a chief, Umi won the favor of all classes in the realm and his time soon came. Hakau, on becoming king, exercised the meanest qualities of a tyrant. Umi had retired from Waipio to Laupahoehoe, when Hakau deposed and humiliated his father's old advisers. Two of these fled to Umi for refuge and protection. Upon their advice, the young prince assembled an army with which he marched to Waipio, where he defeated and killed the tyrant. Amidst general rejoicing Umi was forthwith proclaimed king of Hawaii. He changed the capital from Waipio to the district of Kona, which continued ever after to be a favorite residence of Hawaiian royalty.

Umi's reign was long and prosperous. Among other of his famous

works was the erection of an imposing temple on the table-land between Mauna Loa and Hualalai mountains. Before the close of his reign it fell to him to get rid of another despicable chief as he had requited the crimes of Hakau and under circumstances very similar. He had married Piikea, daughter of King Piilani of Maui. Her father had the bride escorted to Hawaii by a large fleet of double canoes. Piilani soon afterward dying was succeeded by his eldest son, Lono-a-pii, who displayed a jealous and malevolent character. His younger brother, driven from home, took refuge with Umi at Waipio. Piikea induced her husband to avenge the wrong done her brother. Umi assembled a picked army from all the districts of his kingdom and, with a large fleet of war canoes, landed at Hana on Maui. After capturing a fort that was considered impregnable he marched inland to Waihee, where a battle ensued in which Lono-a-pii was defeated and killed. Kiha-a-Piilani, the recent exile, reigned in his brother's stead and an excellent king he proved. Alexander says he "deserves to be remembered for the paved road which he caused to be made around East Maui, the remains of which are still to be seen."

In the reign of Keliakaloa, the eldest son and successor of Umi, a strange event occurred. This was no less than the first injection of European blood into the life of the Hawaiian race. It came to pass a little more than one generation after the discovery of America by Columbus, and though the story is traditionary there seems little doubt of its truth. A foreign vessel was wrecked upon the coast of South Kona, Hawaii, and of its company only the captain and his sister came to land alive. They knelt on the strand in gratitude to heaven for their deliverance and sustained the posture of worship a long time, so that the natives with their customary aptness in descriptive nomenclature gave to the spot the name Kolou, which it has ever since held.

The strangers thus abruptly thrown upon the mercy of the inhab-

itants were treated with kind hospitality. Intermarrying with the natives their descendants became notable families of chiefs. It is learned from the Spanish historians that the first of several exploring expeditions sent from Mexico by its conqueror, Cortez, was constituted of three vessels that sailed from Zacatula for the Moluccas on October 31, 1527, in command of Alvarado de Saavedra. Three thousand miles from port the flotilla was scattered by a storm, and the commander's vessel, Florida, alone reached its destination. It is an inferential certainty that one of the missing caravels was the craft dashed upon the Hawaiian coast. Alexander, in this connection, furnishes strong circumstantial testimony that the Hawaiian Islands were discovered by the Spanish navigator Juan Gaetano in the year 1555. They were laid down in a chart found on board a Spanish galleon from Acapulco, Mexico, which the British ship Centurion captured near the Philippine Islands, after a fierce encounter, in June of 1743.

Though the first European, it was not the first foreign blood, as would appear, infused into Hawaiian veins which the stranded Spaniards brought. Tradition has it that a vessel arrived at Kahului, Maui, in the thirteenth century, whose captain and crew were foreigners of light complexion and bright eyes. These remained and intermarried with the natives, their progeny being identifiable from having a lighter color than the Polynesians. It is surmised that the vessel was a Japanese junk, which, driven out of its course by a typhoon, drifted to the Hawaiian coast. In recent times the same nautical misadventure has twice happened.

About two hundred years intervening between the time of the king into whose dominion the Spanish sea-waifs dropped and the birth of Kamehameha the Great were filled, according to tradition, mainly with merciless warfare between the kings of Hawaii and Maui for possession of the naturally rich district of Hana, on the latter island, and bloody

attempts by kings of Oahu to subjugate Molokai, whose chiefs, in their struggles for independence, were often aided by chiefs from Hawaii and Maui. Such were the conditions at the rise of Kamehameha as a warrior, and he was distinguishing himself in battle when Cook discovered the islands.

Kamehameha was born in November, 1736, at Halawa, district of Kohala, island of Hawaii. His father was Keoua, a high chief of the king's household. Alapainui, having by force obtained exclusive rule over Hawaii, raised an army and navy to subjugate Maui. Taking with him two half-brother princes, Keoua and Kalaniopuu, he found on arrival in Kaupo that Kekaulike, king of Maui, was dead and his own nephew, Kamehamehanui, reigning. He therefore made a warlike alliance with his nephew to deliver the island of Molokai from a cruel invasion by the king of Oahu. The Molokai chiefs had been driven to cover and the island was being mercilessly ravaged when the allies came to their relief. After a series of battles lasting several days the Oahu army was utterly defeated, Kapiiokalani, the marauding king, being killed in battle. Alapainui next attempted an invasion of Oahu, on the failure of which he returned to Hawaii.

Kamehamehanui was in distress the following year, his half-brother Kauhi having usurped the rule of Maui. Alapainui went to his assistance with a large army, while Paleioholani, king of Oahu, took the part of the usurper. A fierce battle of two days took place north of Lahaina. The rebels and their allies were worsted, and Kauhi being taken prisoner was executed. Then a treaty of peace was made between the kings of Hawaii and Oahu, whereby the sovereignty of Kamehamehanui over Maui was recognized and Molokai left under the dominion of the king of Oahu.

When, about 1754, Alapainui died, a civil war ensued in which the dead king's son Keoweopala was killed. Kalaniopuu, a scion of the old



Kamehameha Statue

Kamaiahai Church

Kaumakapila Church Ruins

DISCOVERY BY COOK.

Captain James Cook, the British navigator, discovered the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, and here met a tragic death in the following year. Cook's discovery was the beginning of intercourse between the civilized world and the group, which in a remarkably short time led to the civilization of the islands. It was upon his third voyage around the globe that Captain Cook sighted this group. With two armed ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, he sailed from the Society Islands on December 8, 1777, in quest of a northern passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic ocean. While heading for the northwest coast of America, he descried the island of Oahu on Sunday morning, January 18, 1778. The same day he saw Kauai and stood for that island the following morning, when the island of Niihau also came into view.

Native fishermen put out to the ships from the southeastern shore of Kauai and, though afraid to go aboard, bartered fish and vegetables for nails and scrap iron. Along the shore, as the vessels passed, the people crowded in great excitement to see the mammoth boats, so different in form and incomparably superior in size to their largest canoes. On the morning of the 20th Cook's vessels again stood inshore, when several canoes went out to meet them. This time some of the natives were bold enough to climb over the bulwarks. Lieutenant Williamson the same day was sent ashore with three armed boats to look for a watering place, and returning at midday reported that he had found a watering place, but, while attempting to land at another place, the natives had crowded around him in such force, trying to take away the oars, muskets and everything else *within* grasp, that he was obliged to fire and one native was killed.

That afternoon the ships anchored in Waimea Bay and Captain Cook went ashore, taking three armed boats and twelve marines for protection. Whenever he set foot upon the beach the natives all fell prostrate, lying faces down in the sand until he had motioned them to arise. Thereupon they made many offerings to him of pigs and plantain trees, a priest reciting a long prayer, and Captain Cook responded with presents to them. Next day saw an active barter between shore and ships—hogs, fowls and vegetables being exchanged for nails and iron. Feather cloaks and helmets, with a large quantity of red bird skins, were offered for sale. Willing assistance was given by the natives in filling the water casks and rolling them to the boats. Captain Cook, with the surgeon and the artist of the expedition, strolled up the valley and visited a temple, a description and a drawing of which appear in his records. While endeavoring to change his anchorage on February 23, owing to a southerly rainstorm which began the previous day, Captain Cook was driven to sea in the *Resolution* and, being unable to make the Waimea roadstead again, cruised for several days about the island of Niihau, coming to anchor off its west coast on the 29th. In the meantime a young high chief and his wife, in a double canoe, went aboard the *Discovery* and exchanged presents with Captain Clerke. The ships landed three goats and an English-bred pair of swine on Niihau, also leaving seeds of melons, pumpkins and onions with the natives. Lieutenant Gore and twenty men were detained on shore for two nights, owing to stormy weather and heavy surf, and the natives treated them with hospitality.

On February 2 the two ships resumed their voyage to the northward. "They left behind them," Alexander says, "diseases, unknown before, which spread through the group, causing misery and death to the people. The Hawaiians were left in a state of the utmost wonder and perplexity in regard to the character of their strange visitors. (The

majority of them looked upon Captain Cook as an incarnation of their god Lono, who, as they supposed, had now returned in fulfillment of an ancient prophecy, and upon his crew as supernatural beings. Others pronounced them to be foreigners, 'haoles,' from Kahiki or other mysterious lands to the south.) Messengers were sent to Oahu and Maui to inform the chiefs there of the arrival of these wonderful beings. The messengers said: 'The men are white; their skin is loose and folding; fire and smoke issue from their mouths; they have openings in the sides of their bodies into which they thrust their hands and draw out iron, beads, nails and other treasures; and their speech is unintelligible,' etc."

Captain Cook returned, on his second and fatal visit, the same year, after having explored the Arctic regions until ice-floes impeded his voyaging. It was the northeast coast of Maui that he first made on this occasion, arriving off there on November 26 and beating around the east end of the island. Kalaniopuu, king of Hawaii, was then in the Koolau district waging war, as heretofore mentioned, with Kahekili. The old marauder, attended by several chiefs, visited the ships and his nephew Kamehameha stayed aboard the *Resolution* over night. Afterward Cook cruised off the Kohala coast trading for provisions; then, after beating about the eastern and southern coasts of Hawaii, cast anchor in Kealahakua Bay on January 17, 1779. At sight of the sailors eating watermelons and smoking, the Kohala natives exclaimed that the strangers were gods indeed, who ate the flesh of men, and in whose mouths fire burned.

From all over the island the people swarmed to Kealahakua Bay to see the supposed gods descended among men. To the chiefs Palea and Kanaina, in the king's absence, fell the task of preserving order. At the very beginning of intercourse with the visitors, the natives paid worship to Captain Cook as a divinity. Koa, an old priest, saluted him on board his vessel with great veneration, invested him with a red kapa

cloak and, reciting a long prayer, made votive offering of a pig. When Cook, attended by two officers, accompanied the priest ashore the people either retired from his presence or prostrated themselves before him in obeisance. He was conducted to the temple of Lono, north of Napoopoo, where ceremonies were performed by way of installing him as the incarnation of that god. When, some days later, he visited the residences of the priests at Napoopoo, they conducted him to the house of Lono and paid him worship in similar fashion. While on shore Cook was always attended by a priest with a wand, who ordered the people to prostrate themselves as he passed. The offering of sacrifices to him was a common incident and, as Jarves says, "He moved among them an earthly deity, observed, feared and worshiped." An observatory in tents was set up by the expeditionists near the temple, in which instruments were installed, and forthwith the priests made the place sacred by setting up white tabu rods about it. Daily the shore party of Englishmen received a generous supply of hogs and vegetables, while several canoe-loads of provisions would be sent aboard the ships, all of which the beneficiaries accepted without offering any goods in return, as no recompense indeed was asked. Such a severe tax on hospitality was, next to Cook's submission to worship, the greatest of blunders.

A week after the arrival of the expedition at Kealakekua the old king returned from Maui, when a strict tabu was at once put upon the bay which prevented any canoes from leaving the shore. Two days after his return Kalaniopuu paid a grand state visit to the ships. He went out with three large canoes. His attending chiefs were arrayed in their feather cloaks and helmets, and armed with spears and daggers. Priests were in the retinue, bearing huge wickerwork idols of the fierce aspect hitherto described. The royal flotilla paddled about the ships, with chanting of devotions, and then headed for the observatory. Captain Cook landed there to receive them, and as he entered the tent the

king invested him with his own splendid feather cloak, besides laying half a dozen fine cloaks at his feet. Both Kalaniopuu and his priests also made liberal offerings of provisions, accompanied with prayers, to him they regarded as their long-absent god now in visible form returned. Captain Cook acted the good-natured deity by taking the king and courtiers aboard the *Resolution*, where he presented his majesty with a linen shirt and a cutlass, and at evening, when the officers of the ship were being entertained ashore at a feast, together with an exhibition of boxing and wrestling, he gave a display of fireworks from the ship, which still further inspired awe in the natives, who thought the pyrotechnic missiles were winged spirits.

As already hinted, the Englishmen discounted the hospitality of the Hawaiians far too heavily. Not only did the common people, on whom the burden mainly fell, tire of the heavy offerings, but the whole community was offended at the loose conduct and the contempt for the tabu which its guests exhibited. The people had reason, also, to suspect that they might be laboring under a delusion as to the nature of the visitors, the death of a seaman on the eleventh day after the arrival of the vessels showing them that the paleskinned strangers were not all immortal beings. The dead man was buried within the temple compound, pagan blending with Christian rites at the funeral. Captain Cook himself added combustibility to the gathering displeasure. It was in reality a matter of fuel. Needing firewood he decided to appropriate the fence around the temple set apart to himself. His offer to the priests of three hatchets in exchange for the wood was declined. Cook's men nevertheless removed the temple railing together with the twelve idols it enclosed, which only elicited a meek request from the chief priest that the central image at least should be restored. This was on February 2, or the fifteenth day after the expedition arrived. Then there was an affray between a boat's crew from the *Resolution*, sent to fetch the

rudder, and a party of natives, while squabbles over bartering arose and thefts became frequent. Notwithstanding these ominous happenings, the king seems to have retained his reverence for the supposed Lono, for on February 3 he presented Captain Cook with the richest offering of Polynesian bounty which his eyes had ever yet beheld. It consisted of "an immense quantity of vegetables, a large herd of swine, and an extensive collection of kapas and red and yellow feathers." The following day the ships sailed, but, by a fate that proved cruel, they were back at their old anchorage on the 11th of the same month.

Captain Cook had started to make a survey of the Leeward Islands, whence he was going back to the Arctic for another summer's exploration. Off Kawaihae, however, the ships ran into a gale and, the *Resolution* springing her foremast, it was decided to put back to Kealahou Bay for making repairs ashore. On arrival there a universal and an ominous silence was found prevailing. Not a canoe was in sight. It was ascertained by sending a boat ashore that Kalaniopuu had gone away and left the bay under tabu, and although at dusk a few canoes with provisions visited the ships the natives clearly evinced that their friendship was altogether of the past. They only wanted iron daggers in exchange for their produce. Captain Cook had ordered the making of such weapons for trading purposes.

COOK'S TRAGIC END.

When, the following day, the *Resolution* had landed its material and instruments at the old camp, again was the place put under tabu by the friendly priests. This was Friday. On Saturday sad mischief developed. Palea, the chief, was on board the *Discovery*, when some of his retainers stole a pair of tongs and a chisel from the armorer, jumped with the booty into a canoe and paddled for dear life to the shore. Shots were fired at them and a boat was sent in their pursuit. Palea left the

ship in another canoe, having promised to recover the stolen articles. The thieves having got ahead of their pursuers fled inland after beaching their canoe. Mr. Edgar, the boat's officer, proceeded to take possession of the canoe, but Palea, as its owner, refused to give it up, disclaiming any complicity in the theft. In a scuffle that followed Edgar was repulsed by the chief, whom a sailor then felled to the earth with an oar over the head. At this a crowd of natives beset the sailors with stones, forcing them to swim to a rock a good way out. Palea having shortly recovered from his knockout, dispersed the mob of natives and, calling the sailors back, made restitution of the stolen articles so far as possible. Palea's men the next night stole the large cutter of the *Discovery*, took it two miles up the coast and broke it up for the iron it contained.

Then the last of the chapter of blunders was enacted, which had the sad denouement of ending the career of the great navigator. Captain Cook resolved on a plan that he had often successfully worked in the South Seas, being no less than to capture the king and hold him as a hostage for the return of the stolen boat. On Sunday morning, the 14th of February, he landed with a lieutenant and nine marines, and, going to Kalaniopuu's house, invited the king to spend the day with him on board the *Resolution*. A blockade of three well armed and manned boats athwart the entrance of the bay was in the meantime established.

Captain Cook had succeeded so far as to bring the old king out and on his way to the shore, when the first tragedy of the day occurred and upset the whole seemingly well-laid plan. Kekuhaupio, a famous warrior, and Kalimu, a brother of Palea, each a high chief, had arrived in a canoe from Keei unwitting of the blockade. As they were crossing the dead line a shot from the boats killed Kalimu, whereupon Kekuhaupio hastened to tell the king of the shocking event. The chiefs restrained Kalaniopuu from proceeding farther, while speedily a great crowd as-

sembled. Many of the natives armed themselves with spears and daggers. The direful knell had struck.

Captain Cook himself was singled out by a warrior, who came at him with a dagger and said that the foreigners had killed his brother and he would have revenge. Firing at his intending assailant without effect, Captain Cook ordered Lieutenant Phillips to withdraw the marines to the shore. As the men began to retreat Captain Cook was hit with a stone, and seeing the man who had thrown it he shot him dead. Fire was then opened up by both the men in the boats and the marines on the beach, but before they had time to reload the marines were rushed by the chiefs and four of them killed. The rest plunged into the sea and escaped to the boats. Captain Cook had turned for an instant, waving his hat to signal the boats' crews to cease firing and pull in, when he was stabbed in the back by a chief with an iron dagger. The weapon went through his body and he fell forward to die with his face buried in the water. Lieutenant Phillips with his sword killed the slayer of the captain and then swam to the boats. Lieutenant Gore of the *Resolution*, having taken in the situation with his glass, fired several round shot from the ship into the crowd, doing execution that, with the terror the roar of the cannon inspired, caused a hasty scattering of the crowd to the hills. Seventeen natives were killed in the melee, of whom five were chiefs—the high chief Kanaina being one. Kamehameha is supposed to have taken an active part in this memorable affair. The natives attacked the camp on the other side of the bay, but the guards, taking their station on the heiau, stood them off until reinforcements from the ship ended the danger.

After the *Resolution's* foremast and other effects had been shipped on board without mishap, Lieutenant King was detailed to demand the bodies of Cook and the marines. But the body of the commander the same night underwent the funeral rites due to a chief. This was at a small

temple surmounting the cliffs, where the flesh was stripped off and burned, and the bones were bound in packets with red feathers to become objects of worship. In a footnote Alexander says: "Part of the bones were kept in the temple of Lono, on the east side of Hawaii, and worshiped by the people until 1819, when they were concealed in some secret place." However, two friendly priests the following night (Monday) secretly surrendered part of Cook's remains, which had been allotted to the senior priest of Lono. Another installment of the captain's bones was given up the ensuing Saturday, by a high chief sent by Kalaniopuu to sue for peace, after considerable fighting meanwhile. During these four days many natives had been killed, the village of Napoopoo bombarded with round and grape shot, and, among other outrages perpetrated by the sailors, the village set on fire, whereby the houses of the friendly priests with all their contents were destroyed. Peace having been concluded, the remains of Captain Cook were, on Sunday, with military honors, committed to the deep, a tabu having been placed on the bay for the occasion.

On February 23 the ships got under way and, passing to the leeward of Lanai and the windward of Oahu, went to their former station at Waimea, Kauai. There they replenished their water supply and leaving called at the island of Niihau for yams, after which they set sail, February 25, 1779, for the Arctic Ocean.

A period of nearly thirteen years elapsed between the visit of Captain Cook's expedition and the winning of the kingship of his own island, Hawaii, by Kamehameha as the tangible starting point in obtaining undivided sovereignty over the whole group. All of that period was filled with bloody turmoil sodden with vile treachery, excepting four years, when the population of the islands abandoned strife for lucrative trade with ships from the outside world. For, though they kept away for more than seven years after Cook's death, the argosies of commerce

had to come. Brutal men came with them, too, and so stupid withal as not to take lesson from the tragedy of the discovery. Yet out of a white man's awful crime and the brown men's fierce reprisals therefor a chain of circumstances linked forth which adventitiously hastened the unification of the islands and the civilizing of their inhabitants.

RISE OF KAMEHAMEHA.

Kalaniopuu's kingdom went to pieces directly after his death in 1782. Two years previously the king held a council of the highest chiefs at Waipio, whereat his son Kauikeaouli Kiwalao was proclaimed heir to succeed him. His nephew Kamehameha was declared second in rank and given charge of the ancestral war god Kukailimoku and the temples appurtenant to that deity. Trouble came of the latter function a few months later. Kiwalao essayed to offer in sacrifice the body of a rebel chief, when Kamehameha interposed his prerogative and performed the ceremony himself. This action aroused such animosity that Kamehameha was constrained, on the aged king's advice, to retire to his hereditary lands in Kohala. There, as Alexander records, "he spent more than two years in quietly cultivating and improving his lands, building canoes and fishing. Several of his public works are still to be seen, such as a tunnel by which a watercourse is carried through a ridge in Niulii, besides a canoe-landing in Halaula, a fishpond, etc. He was at this time forty-five years of age."

An inflammable situation existed at the time Kalaniopuu died. Kiwalao, his successor, a nephew of Kahekili of Maui, is described as "weak and irresolute." Keoua Kuahuula, his half-brother, was a man of fiery ambition. The king's uncle, Keawemauhili, had a grasping and overbearing disposition. These three with other chiefs aided the king in preparations to remove the bones of his father from the seat of royalty in Kau to their appointed depository at Honaunau, South Kona. On the other hand, the western side of Hawaii (North and South Kona) was under the sway of four powerful chieftains, namely: Kameeiamoku

and Kamanawa, twin brothers, their half-brother Keeaumoku and Keaweaeulu. Then there was looming up the inevitable council of high chiefs which, after the death of a head chief, was convened to redistribute the lands of the island. Such councils had frequently produced civil war. Anticipating that on this occasion they would not receive a fair deal from the chiefs near the king's person, the four Kona chieftains sent Kekuhaupio—the renowned warrior who has been mentioned in connection with Captain Cook's death—to ask Kamehameha to be their leader. Kamehameha consenting speedily gathered his retainers and went with the envoy to Kaawaloa, which is opposite Honaunau on Kealakekua Bay. Kiwalao was accompanied to Honaunau by a strong retinue of chiefs and armed warriors, he occupying his double canoe and the late king's remains lying in state upon another. On his arrival he crossed the bay and was received by Kamehameha with loyal respect. "Where are you?" the young king said after the customary wailing. "It is possible that we two may die. Here is our aged uncle pushing us on to war. Perhaps you and I only may be slain. Alas for us two!" (Alexander.) After the funeral rites the next day, the king made public declaration of the last will and testament of his father. It was merely a ratification of the Waipio council's decrees. The Kona chiefs were dissatisfied, but when the land distribution, occupying the next few days, had been accomplished, "the fat was in the fire." It was from the king's own party, however, that the eruption came. Keaweauhili, the rapacious uncle, and his favorites received the largest and choicest of the estates. Keoua, the irascible half-brother, got nothing and was told to be content with the lands already in his keeping. He flew into a rage and, leaving the assembly, armed his retainers and set out upon guerrilla warfare. His band cut down cocoanut trees—a challenge to war—at Keomo and going thence to Keei started a row in which some of Kamehameha's people were killed. This led to war in earnest, for the

bodies having been carried to Honaunau were offered in sacrifice by Kiwalao, who thus assumed the responsibility for his desperate half-brother's belligerency.

Mustering of forces, attended with skirmishes, occupied some days and then a pitched battle took place. Keeaumoku having been tripped up with a spear and then stabbed repeatedly, Kiwalao called on his own men to save the fallen chieftain's ivory neck-ornament from blood-staining. Kamanawa came to Keeaumoku's aid, at which moment a slung stone brought the king down. Keeaumoku saw Kiwalao fall and, crawling up to him, cut his throat with a shark's-teeth dagger. In the complete rout of the king's party Keoua escaped to his canoes and, landing in Kau, was acknowledged by the people of that district as his brother's successor. Keawemauhili was taken prisoner, but escaped in the night and reached Hilo over the mountains. Keoua and his uncle were therefore now foot-loose and jointly in control of the windward side of the island. Thus early did Kalaniopuu's kingdom split into three petty sovereignties. Kamehameha had his work laid out for him.

Yet the destined conqueror lost a whole series of wars ere his star resumed its dominance. Kamehameha, having made great preparations by sea and land, moved upon the two allied chiefs. He landed in Puna and marched to the crater of Kilauea to prevent a junction of his enemies, and then proceeding to Waiakea encountered Keawemauhili's army reinforced by Maui warriors. His forces were completely beaten to their canoes and he retired to Laupahoehoe. An impetuous and unjustifiable attack that he soon after made upon a party of fishermen on the Puna coast nearly cost a premature ending of his career. Dr. N. B. Emerson, one of the deepest investigators of Hawaiian history and folk-lore, gives the account of the affair, which is here condensed. (Tenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.) After his inglorious de-

feat just recorded, Kamehameha remained some weeks, if not months, at Waiakea. Keawemauhili had withdrawn from Hilo with his forces and was somewhere in the wilderness back of Kau with Keoua. He is said to have had a revulsion of feeling which made him averse to continuing the war with his "child," Kamehameha, and such disposition, together with the distance from the battlefield at which he placed his forces after the fight, is given as an explanation of why Kamehameha was now left undisturbed, enabling him to post his forces with impunity at Waiakea and to plan the new move about to be described.

At Keaau there lived a low chief, "of considerable weight of character," named Kuuku. Extremely slight of physique, this petty chief would yet seem to have held powerful influence. "Kuuku was one who stood between the two warring parties. Though nominally attached to the party of Keawemauhili, on whose side he had fought in the last battle, * * * he was so little of a partisan that, had his desire prevailed, both sides would have thrown down their arms and come to terms. * * * His inclination was to act on a small scale as an armed intermediary, ready to uphold whichever chief should be unjustly assailed; always provided, however, that by so doing he could see the way clear to the promotion of peace." It was for the purpose of visiting Kuuku, probably in the hope of winning him to his own side, that Kamehameha one day set sail with his whole fleet, moving along the Puna coast. No improvement in Dr. Emerson's graphic recital of what followed can be attempted by the present writer, therefore here it follows:

"His own double canoe, well manned with warriors, led the way. The main body of the fleet followed, separated from him by a considerable interval. When Kamehameha had arrived opposite a small cove at a place called Paai, in Keaau, he spied a fishing craft with five men

aboard who were making for the shore after having spent the night at sea.

“No words were exchanged between Kamehameha’s party and the fishermen. These recognized the fleet as that of an enemy and, being attached to the side of Keoua, and fearful of being plundered, they made all haste to reach the shore. At the same time Kamehameha rushed his own canoe in such a course as to intercept the fishermen, if possible, his acknowledged purpose being robbery.

“The fishermen made the beach first, hastily hauled up their canoe, shouldered their belongings and started inland. The names of two of the party have been handed down, Naone-a-Laa and Kalauai. The three others, less encumbered with baggage, made good their escape, and their names are lost to fame.

“Kamehameha’s canoe struck the beach a moment too late. Regardless of rank and personal dignity, he jumped to land and gave chase to the two men. Several of his own soldiers, men of great strength, trained athletes, it is said, made a move to follow their leader; but Kamehameha would have it an affair of his own and lifted his hand with a forbidding gesture that compelled them to keep their places. In fact, there existed an unwritten code of honor, by which all persons were forbidden to take sides in a contest between two individuals, a rule, however, which did not apply in battle.

“Kamehameha came up with the fisherman Kalauai, seized hold of him, shook him, and tried to wrench away from him the coveted net he was carrying upon his shoulders. Kalauai seems merely to have stood upon the defensive and not to have struck a blow for his own protection; but in spite of this Kamehameha did not succeed in overthrowing him or getting possession of the coveted net. While engaged in this scuffle, one of Kamehameha’s feet became wedged in a hole or crevice of the lava plain and was held fast. This gave Kalauai his oppor-

tunity and he escaped. Kamehameha could not give pursuit, but he tore up from its bed a large piece of rock and hurled it at his fleeing enemy with such good aim and such force that it was shattered by the hala tree, behind which the fisherman had run for shelter. At this moment Naone took part in the contest; he threw down four of the paddles of the company which he had been carrying on his shoulders, but kept one as a club with which he struck Kamehameha a stunning blow on the forehead; then leaving the invading chieftain on the ground, unconscious and bleeding, the daring fisherman joined his companion in flight.

“And so Naone and Kalauai escaped unhurt; the aggressor and would-be robber lay bleeding and stunned, his foot gripped fast in its rocky fetter. The people on the canoe, seeing Kamehameha’s trouble, came quickly to his relief and, having taken him aboard, conveyed him in a prostrate condition to the residence of his friend Kuuku, where for a time he lay between life and death. But the powers of nature were in his favor and, after a day or two of doubtful struggle, he came to himself and was able to converse and turn his thoughts to his affairs.”

Opposing the statement of a historical writer that “Kamehameha’s escape from death on this occasion was due to his great strength,” Dr. Emerson quotes his Hawaiian informant thus:

“Kamehameha was not able to overcome Kalauai even when the latter was heavily burdened with a fishing net. Kalauai was the stronger man; and, as to Naone, he was a famous athlete. No, Kamehameha owed his life, not to his strength, but to the clemency and self-restraint of the two men. If Naone had indulged himself in another blow, which was clearly his right as being the attacked party, Kamehameha would have been a dead man.”

The sequel given by Dr. Emerson to his story of the encounter at Keaau is not less interesting than that story. It is here quoted:

“ Though Naone and his companion had been able to repulse the onset of Kamehameha and to make their escape, they could not long remain concealed from the search of Kamehameha’s men, who were in such numbers as to overrun the land and who would have torn them limb from limb, but that Kamehameha had issued strict orders that they should not be harmed. It was indeed not without grumbling that Kamehameha’s fierce warriors restrained themselves when Naone and Kalauai were at length in their power; but they dared not disobey a master whose will was law, and whose command had been to bring the daring offenders before him unhurt, that he might deal with them according to his pleasure. It is said that when Kamehameha lay sick and wounded in the house of Kuuku, Naone and Kalauai being still at large, his chiefs came to him and said: ‘ O king, shall we ravage Keaau with fire and spear?’

“ Kamehameha’s head was still bundled for its wound when the two prisoners, obedient to his orders, crawled into his presence, evidently set on meeting their fate like soldiers, if they were to be doomed to death.

“ Kamehameha propped himself on the elbow, made a slight inclination upon recognizing the men and then grunted out, ‘ Ehe!’ (Sit there.) Then, looking them over, he said to Naone, ‘ Are you the man who struck me on the head?’ ‘ Yes, I am he,’ was the reply. ‘ You gave me but one blow?’ asked Kamehameha. ‘ Yes, but one,’ admitted Naone. ‘ Why didn’t you strike a second time?’ demanded Kamehameha. ‘ I thought the one blow would have sufficed to kill you,’ said the culprit boldly. There was a pause. Then the king resumed: ‘ You are a soldier. I had flattered myself that I was to be the one to do the hurting; but it turned out that I was mistaken, and I was the one that was hurt.’

“ Then, after a moment, Kamehameha said: ‘ I was in the wrong in making the attack. My kahu used to tell me that violence and rob-

bery were evil and should be punished with death. If I live I will make a law against robbery and violence, and lay on them the penalty of death.' With this announcement Kamehameha dismissed the two men, bidding them go to their homes in peace. But the gift of their lives was not all he conferred upon them. To Naone he gave the land on which stood the house where he then lay, and to Kalauai the land that included the place where the affray happened, lands which Naone and Kalauai are said to have retained all their lives.

"It is almost superfluous to say that Naone and Kalauai became the most ardent and faithful adherents of Kamehameha's cause, ready to go to any extremity in his behalf. They not only joined his army, but, being men of influence, they drew many others with them. It is furthermore reported that in after years, when they heard the news of Kamehameha's death, they went out in the woods and hanged themselves—a pitiful climax to their devotion.

"One of the results of the incident at Keaau was the law directed against the very thing of which Kamehameha had there been guilty, and this law was called the Kanawai Mamala-hoa, in memory of the unhappy affair at Keaau. (The meaning of the word Mamala-hoa is splintered paddle.)"

An expedition sent by him in 1786 to retake the districts of Hana and Kipahulu in Maui while Kahekili, who had recovered that territory some years before, was absent on Oahu also ended disastrously. The commander was his younger brother, Kalanimalokuloku, who gained a temporary triumph and the people who yielded were treated so well by the invader that they gave him the surname of Keliimakai ("the good chief"), which stuck to him ever after. But eventually his army was utterly routed, a remnant escaping to Kohala, by a force under Kamo-homoho, a younger brother of Kahekili.

In the meantime Kahekili, by foul diplomacy leading up to a sudden

onslaught, had made a conquest of Oahu. Kumuhana had succeeded his father, Peleioholani, the king of Maui who subdued Molokai, but the young man was deposed for incompetency by his chiefs, who elected in his stead Kahahana, a young chief who had been brought up at the court of Kahekili and had married his half-sister. Kahekili assented to the arrangement on condition that the sacred land of Kualoa and the whalebone and ivory drifting ashore on Oahu should be ceded to him. Kahahana was installed but afterward the council of Oahu chiefs refused to ratify the condition Kahekili had imposed. Dissembling his resentment at this repudiation of his terms because of the value he set upon Oahu's aid in resisting Kalaniopuu's aggressions, Kahekili adopted underhand means of vengeance. He accused Kaopulupulu, a priest and the wisest counselor of Kahahana, of having offered the throne of Oahu to himself. Kahahana believed the Maui king's slander and caused Kaopulupulu to be assassinated. This foul deed increased the unpopularity with which the king of Oahu was already regarded. It made just the situation that Kahekili had planned. As nearly ten years had passed since the deposition of Kumuhana, the reflection occurs that the perseverance of the plotter was worthy of better fruit than perfidy.

Recalling his auxiliary troops from Hilo, the Maui king in 1783 assembled all his forces at Lahaina, from whence he sailed without warning for Oahu. Landing at Waikiki he engaged the army of Kahahana, defeating it in Nuuanu Valley. Kahahana and his wife took refuge in the mountains, but after hiding for a year the unfortunate king was betrayed by his wife's brother Kekuamauoha. His body was offered in sacrifice at Waikiki. Kahekili's rule over Oahu and Molokai was so tyrannical as to produce an extensive conspiracy of the Oahuans. Some Maui chiefs, sympathizing with the widowed queen or fretting over the land distribution, were in the plot, which was to kill Kahekili and his chiefs in the various districts of the island on one night. But

the secret was divulged in time to save all but Hueu, the Waialua chief, he and all his retinue being massacred. In revenge Kahekili had nearly all the native Oahu chiefs exterminated, besides causing an indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children in the Kona and Ewa districts (the former being the district in which the present capital city of Honolulu is situated). Streams are said to have been choked with the dead, and at Moanalua a house was built of human bones. A few chiefs escaped to Kauai.

ADVENT OF COMMERCE.

Two British ships arrived off the coast of Hawaii on May 24, 1786—the King George in command of Captain Portlock, and the Queen Charlotte, of Captain Dixon, both commanders having been in Cook's last expedition. These were the first vessels to visit the islands after Captain Cook's death. All of the maritime world had been stirred by the reports of Cook's voyage, which showed what a profitable trade might be established in the barter of blankets, iron, beads, etc., with the Indians of the northwest coast of America for furs having a ready cash market in Canton. And from thence cargoes of tea for England or the United States could be obtained. The King George and Queen Charlotte touched at Kealahou Bay, but finding the natives in bad humor they left for Oahu. Anchoring in Waialae Bay they stayed four days, buying fresh water at the price of a sixpenny nail for the full of a two-gallon calabash. It was observed by Captain Portlock that most of the iron daggers sold by Captain Cook had come into possession of Kahekili's warriors. The vessels called at Niihau for yams, sailing thence for the northwest coast. They returned the following November and wintered, partly at Waialae, Oahu, and partly at Waimea, Kauai. On their way to China the succeeding year these vessels repeated their visits to those places. In May, 1786, La Perouse, the famous French explorer, with his two frigates bound for Alaska, spent a day off the coast of Maui, holding friendly intercourse with the natives.

Captain Meares in the snow Nootka was one of the earlier visitors among many fur-traders that now made the islands a calling station.

He stayed a month at Waimea, Kauai, in 1787, and carried off the chief Kaiana as a passenger to Canton. Afterward he fitted up the vessels Felice and Iphigenia for the fur trade. Kaiana, who had been kindly entertained by the English residents of Canton during a sojourn there of three months, and three other natives were taken as passengers in the Iphigenia. On this trip the chief was presented by his Canton friends with cattle, goats and turkeys, also lime and orange trees, and a great store of other goods. In the long voyage along the American coast all of the livestock died. The Iphigenia arrived at Kealakekua Bay in December, 1788, and her master, Captain Douglass, fired a salute of seven guns in honor of Kamehameha, who had come out in state with twelve double canoes gaily decorated with feathers. Kaiana, learning that Kaeo, king of Kauai, was embittered against him, accepted service under Kamehameha and was landed with the foreign weapons and abundance of valuable goods which he had acquired. His wife and child and his brother Namakeha were later brought from Kauai by Captain Douglass, who presented Kamehameha with a swivel cannon together with some muskets and ammunition. Nevertheless some bad impulse against the white man must have been at work. Perhaps there was lingering feeling of revenge for the wrongs and the evils that the Cook expedition had brought. Resentment might have been aroused by actions of the later traders. Jealousies created by the inter-island wars might have had something to do with it. Or possibly the evil spirit was mostly that of savage cupidity. At any rate, it is strange, following the record of Captain Douglass's kindness to the king and his enlisted chief from Kauai, to be told that when he touched again at Kealakekua in July, 1789, "he narrowly escaped a plot of the principal chiefs to massacre him and his crew." At this very time, Kamehameha and his chiefs were probably, as Alexander says, receiving the lion's share of the trade with foreigners, which centered mainly at Waimea in Kauai and Kealakekua

Bay in Hawaii and which was lucrative enough to cause the belligerent chiefs to forget to fight each other for four years.

As to the next trouble between the Hawaiians and the traders, there is no mystery of motive about its beginning, but the recital must excite horrified disgust at the barbarity of the white man. To avenge the blood of another, this particular white man in most treacherous manner wreaked indiscriminate slaughter upon a host of innocent people. The retribution thus invited soon arrived, and it was fearful, including the murder of the offender's son among others and the loss of valuable property. Historically this abhorrent train of crimes, however, had far-reaching results on the affairs of the islands. It forthwith threw into the scales of inter-island strife a prodigious weight of advantage on the side of Kamehameha.

Captain Metcalf, an American fur-trader, in his snow *Eleanor* bound for China, arrived at the islands in the close of the year 1789. A plot by Kaiana and other chiefs to seize the vessel was frustrated by Kamehameha's going on board and ordering the plotters ashore. Later Kameeiamoku, a Kona chief previously mentioned, was for a trivial offense beaten with a rope's-end by Captain Metcalf. The insulted chief vowed to have revenge on the next vessel that came within his reach. In the latter part of the succeeding February the *Eleanor* went to Honuaula, Maui, where one night Kaopuiki, the Olowalu chief, with his men, stole a boat from its moorings at the stern and murdered a sailor sleeping in it. The boat was broken up for the extraction of its nails. Captain Metcalf, being informed that the robbers belonged there, went to Olowalu and opened up trade with the natives. When a great assemblage of canoes from many points had come around his vessel, the captain fired a broadside of cannon and musketry upon them. More than a hundred people were killed and a great many wounded.

A little schooner named the *Fair American*, commanded by Cap-

tain Metcalf's son, eighteen years of age, had been accompanying the Eleanor as a tender up north. She was detained by the Spaniards at Nootka Sound and the Eleanor, after the diabolical outrage at Olowalu, resorted to the offing of Kealakekua Bay to await her arrival. About that time the Fair American arrived off Kawaihae. Now was Kameeio-moku's opportunity for the vengeance he had vowed. Going off with a flotilla of canoes on the pretext of trading, he and his men threw the young captain overboard and killed the entire crew except Isaac Davis, the mate. Within a few hours later John Young, boatswain of the Eleanor, was caught ashore and detained, while Kamehameha, to prevent Metcalf's hearing the tale of calamity, placed a tabu on all canoes. For two days the Eleanor stood off and on, firing signal guns for Young's return, and then set her course for China. Kamehameha treated the captive sailors with distinguished consideration, allotting to them valuable lands and raising them to the rank of chiefs. Young and Davis took kindly to the feudal harness, becoming most potent aids to the warlord. At the outset they mounted the king's cannon on carriages for land duty and proceeded to drill a picked squad of warriors in the use of muskets.

KAMEHAMEHA RESUMES WARFARE.

Kamehameha now felt himself strong enough to resume warlike enterprise. He summoned Keoua of Kau and Keawemauhili of Hilo to contribute men and canoes for an invasion of Maui. His veteran uncle responded with a large force under his own sons, but his fire-eating cousin Keoua met the demand with an abrupt refusal. The latter, as will be seen, had "other fish to fry." Kamehameha's forces landed in Hana and Hamakualoa, Maui, in the summer of 1790. They defeated the Maui army in two battles, the second one being a complete rout in the valley of Wailuku. Young and Davis with the artillery, together with

the contingent of muskets, were too much for the wielders of the ancient weapons to withstand. It was a fearful slaughter with no quarter to the defeated. The battle received the name of Kapaniwai, from the damming of the Iao stream with dead bodies. Kahekili's sons, who had commanded the Maui troops, escaped through the Olowalu pass and took canoes for Oahu.

Bad tidings from home, however, called Kamehameha from Maui before he could establish the conquest of that island. Keoua, taking advantage of his absence, had defeated and killed Keawemauhili in battle, then over-running Hamakua depredated Waipio and Waimea districts. He retreated to Hamakua when Kamehameha with all his forces had landed at Kawaihae. The results of two battles near Paauhau, in which gunpowder gave the advantage to Kamehameha, were not decisive, Keoua retiring to Hilo and Kamehameha to Waipio. Keoua in November of the same year, after making a distribution of the Hilo lands to his chiefs, marched for Kau by way of the crater of Kilauea. The crater was in a violent state at the time and, after encamping on its brink for two days, Keoua's army on the third day moved forward in three divisions. Then a terrible earthquake occurred, which was accompanied by an explosive eruption of the crater. Black sand and cinders in enormous volume clouded the sun and then came showering upon the earth over a radius of many miles. The falling debris harmed Keoua's advance and rear very slightly, but of the middle division not a soul escaped alive. All were found dead by the rear party. Some were stretched out, and others sitting up with wives and children clasped in arms. Horror-stricken at the discovery, the rear guard hastened onward to join the vanguard. Kamehameha of course regarded the awful event as an omen of the goddess Pele's favor to his cause. In 1791 a great temple in honor of the wargod Kukailimoku was, on the advice of the priests, erected at Kawaihae to obtain for Kamehameha dominion

over Hawaii. Kaiana was dispatched to Kau against Keoua, but his campaign was a failure.

While civil war still existed on the largest island an alliance for its invasion was formed between Kahekili, king of Oahu, Maui and Molokai, and his brother Kaeo, king of Kauai. The allied forces landed in Waipio, committing outrages on the inhabitants. Kamehameha went by sea to meet them. His fleet of double canoes was reinforced with the schooner *Fair American*, carrying several cannon in charge of Young and Davis. The invaders were not without firearms, Kaeo having with him "his favorite gunner, Murray." (He also had taken along several ferocious dogs.) There was a bloody naval battle off Waimanu, the outcome of which was the retreat of Kahekili and Kaeo to Maui with the remnant of their armada.

Keoua came to his end through treachery. This was just after he had disdainfully spurned a proposal of treachery against enemies who, whether suspected or not, had come under his roof with the purpose of luring him to destruction. That Kamehameha won the pivotal triumph of his career from the foul play here recorded is a fact that must always be a black stain upon his name. Dr. Emerson, in introducing an account of this episode, gives somewhat doubting countenance to a theory that the first application of the edict called the Kanawai Mamalahoa then took place, being at Kawiahae in 1792, "after ten long years of warring between Kamehameha and Keoua. During this decade the cause of Kamehameha has advanced, while that of Keoua has remained stationary, or relatively declined. The blows struck by Kamehameha had been successfully repelled by Keoua, but there seems to be no prospect that either party will be able to establish a peace by offensive warfare. Matters remain at a deadlock." Two of Kamehameha's principal advisers, Kamanawa and Keaweahu, at this juncture went as his ambassadors to Keoua at Kahuku for the

purpose of inducing him to visit Kamehameha with a view to ending the long war. When they had been announced, Keoua was urged by his chief warrior to kill them. He indignantly refused thus to dishonor his hospitality. They entered his presence with the usual prostrations and general expressions of regard. Moved by their representations and intercessions, Keoua decided to make the journey. Accordingly he embarked for Kawaihae in his double canoe, twenty-four men paddling it, and carried along his most intimate friends. Keaweaeulu, in another canoe, accompanied him. Keoua's followers to the number of perhaps a thousand, in a flotilla of canoes, brought up the rear of the maritime procession. "He is under the implied if not the explicit protection of Kamehameha's safe-conduct," Dr. Emerson says, "and his only guarantee for his own safety and that of his people is the honor and good faith of Kamehameha."

When Keoua approached the landing place at Kawaihae, seeing the army and fleet of Kamehameha, his mind filled with foreboding to which he gave utterance in figurative words, thus: "It looks stormy ashore; the flight of the clouds is ominous of evil." On approaching the landing Keoua's canoe was surrounded with armed men directed by Keeaumoku. Standing upon the platform of his canoe the doomed chief cried out to Kamehameha, "Here am I," and the king replied, "Rise up and come here that we may know each other." Keoua was in the act of leaping ashore when the treacherous spear of Keeaumoku was thrust into his vitals and he died on the spot. Then the slaughter was continued until every man of Keoua's immediate escort with a single exception, from the highest to the lowest, yielded his blood to the brine. The second and larger division of Keoua's escort, coming some distance behind, was under command of Kaoleioku, a natural son of Kamehameha. These people would also have been massacred, but Kamehameha's veto was now interposed. Keliimaikai shouted, "You

have killed my hanai [foster-child, or foster-parent], and I will kill yours," as he menaced the young leader. "He shall not die; he is the child of my youth," was the royal mandate as Kamehameha raised his thumb and ended the murderous work. Discussing the opinion presented by other authorities that this was the inception of the edict against murder, Dr. Emerson says: "One cannot but remark that Kamehameha did not embarrass himself by declaring the Mamalahoa decree until he had first seen the blood of his inveterate enemy Keoua poured out before him." Keoua's corpse was baked as a final insult and then all of the bodies were offered in sacrifice to the wargod. Kamehameha was now overlord of the entire island through the vilest of means—a truth the more to be deplored because nobody can doubt that he could honorably, and perhaps at this latest stage even peaceably, have won the prize.

Three and a half years elapsed between Kamehameha's winning of the mastery of his own island and his conquest of Oahu that left only Kauai and Niihau to be conquered before the entire group came under his sovereignty. In the meantime, again, a chain of circumstances in his favor developed. Indeed, the fates did more for him than he himself wrought, and once more troubles that others made with the white man inured to the Hawaiian man of destiny's supreme benefit. To make the narrative of this interval clear, it is well to recall the positions of some of the actors in the drama. Kamehameha, after his Maui victory, had returned to Hawaii. Kalanikupule, son of Kahekili, having escaped to Oahu after the Maui disaster, was left in charge of affairs there, while his father returned to Maui. Kaeo, king of Kauai, seems to have gone to Maui to assist his aged brother Kahekili in the government, leaving Inamoo at home as regent. Kaiana and Keeaumoku were restive and jealous under Kamehameha's rule of Hawaii. The especial favor that Kaiana had received from white men, as already shown,

seemed to have been lost upon him. His craze for capturing trading vessels, previously evinced in a plot to seize the Eleanor, was manifested again in 1791 when his design to capture the sloop Princess Royal under the Spanish flag was, as in the other case, thwarted by Kamehameha.

ARRIVAL OF VANCOUVER.

Thus stood the principal dramatis personae of the Hawaiian Islands when the great Vancouver, whose name is geographically as well as historically identified with the western hemisphere, arrived. Captain George Vancouver was commissioned by the British Government to receive the cession of the Nootka Sound region from Spain, also to make a thorough survey of the northwest coast of North America. His vessels were the *Discovery* and the armed tender *Chatham*, the latter commanded by Lieutenant Broughton. Appearing off Hawaii on the second of March, 1792, the expedition skirted the Kona coast. Kamehameha being on the other side of the island, Kaiana visited the ships. Vancouver received him well, giving him a variety of useful plants and seeds, but would sell the chiefs neither arms nor ammunition. Kaiana showed his false nature by representing that he was Kamehameha's peer and that he ruled the three southern districts of Hawaii. Vancouver visited Waikiki, Oahu, and Waimea, Kauai, at the former place learning that Kahekili and Kaeo, with most of their war followings, were at Hana waiting to resist an expected invasion of Maui by Kamehameha. At Waimea the explorer was visited by Inamoo and Kaumualii, the twelve-year old son of Kaeo. The boy was attended by a guard of thirty men armed with iron daggers, having also thirteen muskets packed in three bundles and ammunition in calabashes. Vancouver was highly pleased with the intelligence and good manners the young prince showed. Two things greatly impressing him, also, were an evident decrease in population since Captain Cook's arrival and the eagerness of the natives for firearms.

On the 7th of May the same year the storeship *Daedalus*, detailed for Vancouver's service and commanded by Lieutenant Hergest, arrived off Waimea, Oahu. A party went ashore for water and was attacked by a band of outlaws. Lieutenant Hergest and the astronomer, Mr. Gooch, having gone farther inland than the others, were killed and their bodies not recovered, though the survivors of the party on escaping to the boats fired upon the banditti. The *Daedalus* did not tarry, but sailed at once for Nootka Sound. Vancouver returned on February 14, 1793, coming from Monterey, California. Anchoring at Kawaihae, he presented Kamehameha with a pair of cattle, the first on these islands. Seven days later the king, accompanied by John Young, visited the ships and received many presents, Kamehameha being the recipient of a brilliant scarlet cloak. When the vessels anchored in Kealahou Bay the following day, Kamehameha made them a great state visit with eleven double canoes. He presented Vancouver with four feather helmets, ninety large hogs and a large assortment of fruit and vegetables, whereupon Vancouver gave him five cows and three sheep. Kaiana and Keeaumoku were filled with envy at such marked recognition of Kamehameha's pre-eminence. With 150 warriors Kamehameha, on March 4, gave a sham battle, in which he showed off his own remarkable skill in spear exercise, and Vancouver, at evening, responded with an exhibition of fireworks.

Vancouver made known to Kamehameha an earnest desire to effect a lasting peace between Hawaii and the other islands, and thinking that he had fairly settled the conditions for such an eventuality he sailed for Maui and anchored off Lahaina on March 12. Kamohomoho, the king's younger brother, and Kahekili himself successively visited him. He told them his first object was to bring the murderers of Hergest and Gooch to justice, and his second object to end the war. Maui, he reminded them, was still suffering from the results of Kamehameha's lat-

est invasion, while the maintenance of a large army in Hana was draining the resources of both Maui and Oahu. His representations were accepted as truth and Kahekili offered to send Kaeo in Vancouver's ship to negotiate peace with Kamehameha in presence of the mediator. Vancouver had not time to enter upon this plan, but he wrote a letter to John Young to inform Kamehameha of the terms of peace to which the Maui chiefs had consented. A chief sent with this letter, however, never delivered it, as he was attacked and had to run for his life. Vancouver, meanwhile, after presenting Kahekili with some goats and much useful goods, and giving a pyrotechnical exhibition, sailed for Oahu with Kamohomoho aboard his vessel. At Waikiki three men were produced on board under charge of murdering Lieutenant Hergest. On the testimony of several witnesses they were found guilty and, being placed in a double canoe, were shot by a chief. The executioner afterward confessed that the victims were innocent of the murder, although guilty of tabu violations.

Voyaging on to Kauai, Vancouver met a fleet of canoes with a number of prisoners, being insurgents who had failed in an uprising against Inamoo. Foreigners had aided in suppressing the revolt. Vancouver found that "renegade white men" were accused of inciting the natives to piratical acts. The brig Hancock of Boston had been scuttled from the outside, but was somehow saved from foundering. It was also charged that these beach-combers had urged Inamoo to declare his independence, and even fired upon Kahekili's messengers who went to hold an investigation of the troubles. Kahekili himself visited the disturbed island in October, taking passage with Captain Brown in the ship Butterworth, but after arraigning Inamoo for his conduct left him as governor of the island and guardian of the minor prince.

Vancouver visited the islands for the third time in 1794, arriving off Hilo on January 9 from the American coast. Kamehameha was

then residing at Hilo and, though it was the festival of New Year's, he was induced to accompany Vancouver to Kealahakua. During a stay of six weeks Vancouver and his party were treated with unstinted hospitality. More cattle and sheep were landed for Kamehameha, and on Vancouver's advice a tabu for ten years was placed on the stock. The ship's carpenter, on February 1, laid the keel of the first vessel, of other than canoe model, ever built at the islands. She was named the *Britannia* and her length was thirty-six feet. Vancouver took occasion to advise the king wisely with regard to intercourse with foreigners, internal government affairs and military discipline. Moreover, he declared to him the existence of one true God, the falseness of idol worship and the cruel wrongs of the tabu system. He promised to ask the king of England to send him a teacher of the true religion. Vancouver, while recommending Young and Davis to Kamehameha's confidence, offered to remove seven runaway seamen from the country. This would have left but four white men on the islands. The chiefs declined the proposal.

At a council of chiefs, held on board of the *Discovery* on February 21, it was decided to place Hawaii under the protection of Great Britain, the chiefs reserving the right to regulate their internal affairs. Lieutenant Paget hoisted the British flag on the 25th, taking possession of Hawaii in the name of His Britannic Majesty. As a salute was fired the natives shouted in their own tongue, "We are men of Britain." Before sailing for Kauai, the following day, Vancouver promised the chiefs that he would return with missionaries and artisans to assist them in attaining Christian civilization under British protection. The Home Government never ratified the political cession, and, from the fact that it was not done, it is to be inferred that Vancouver was unable to induce any missionary society to undertake the evangelization of the "Sandwich Islands," as Captain Cook had named the group.

While his ship was anchored off Waimea, Kauai, Vancouver was visited by Inamoo and Kaumualii, and he left them some sheep for breeding. A dance by six hundred women, dressed in fancy kapas, was given on shore for his entertainment. Vancouver sailed for England on March 13, 1794. Internal troubles of the islands thickened the same year toward the finish of the ages of civil strife.

THE CLOSING WARS.

Kahekili died in July at Waikiki, being more than eighty years of age, and his kingdom, soon falling asunder, dropped easily into the grasp of Kamehameha. The way the closely related chiefs of all the islands played false and villainous to one another forms a hideous picture of human nature unbridled, though one not without counterparts a many in ancient and modern history and in countries boasting, at the times of the events, hoary-aged civilizations.

Kalanikupule continued to rule over Oahu, and Kaeo over Maui and the smaller islands adjacent thereto. In November Kaeo embarked for Kauai to compose the continuing disorders there, taking such a large force of chiefs and warriors as to leave Maui all but unprotected. Desirous of resting on Oahu he ventured to land at Waimanalo, but was opposed by Kalanikupule's warriors. There was some skirmishing until his nephew arrived from Waikiki, with whom he reached an amicable understanding. Resuming his canoes after a short stay, Kaeo called in at Waialua and afterward landed at Waianae, the final resting place, before crossing the channel to Kauai. But here he was apprised of a plot among his troops to throw him overboard on the voyage. He greeted this divulgence with the declamation: "Better to die in battle; many will be the companions in death." At his orders the canoes were hauled up high and dry and the army was paraded to march across country against his nephew. All disaffection vanished before the exhibition of courage and Kaeo's troops were voluntarily reinforced by the people of Waianae and Waialua. Kalanikupule had now only a

desperate chance of withstanding cruel disaster, but he was saved by foreign allies, who dropped in, as it were, accidentally.

Captain Brown, in the schooner *Jackal*, had discovered Honolulu harbor, naming it Fair Haven, and accompanied by Captain Gordon in the sloop *Prince Lee Boo*, entered that port on November 21. Captain Kendrick, in the sloop *Lady Washington*, followed him inside. Kalanikupule bought arms and ammunition for the coming struggle from Captain Brown. Kaeo, having won the preliminary skirmishes, was rapidly advancing, when George Lamport, mate of the *Jackal*, and eight other seamen enlisted to help Kalanikupule's defense. One of the seamen was killed and the rest driven to the canoes when, in the first battle at Puna-hawela, Kalanikupule's native warriors were routed. Kaeo continued to win skirmishes and gradually to press forward, until Kalanikupule prevailed over him in a fierce battle fought December 12 at Kalauao, east of Pearl Harbor. Kaeo, fighting desperately to the last, fell amidst a circle of his foes. Then a gruesome series of tragedies, beginning with casualty and ending with crime, succeeded. And, as on a former occasion, the crime was the first link in a chain of circumstances which further helped the man of destiny, again without involving himself in bloodguiltiness.

When his men returned from the battle the next day, Captain Brown fired a salute in celebration of the victory. A wad from one of the guns killed Captain Kendrick, who was sitting at dinner in the *Lady Washington's* cabin. After the funeral, whose ceremonies the natives regarded as sorcery to encompass the death of Brown, the *Lady Washington* sailed for China. Kalanikupule paid Brown 400 hogs for his services in the war, and most of the sailors were put at work on shore butchering and salting down the pork. Captain Brown sent Mate Lamport, on January 1, 1795, with a boat and four men to a salt pond at Moanalua for salt. In their absence Kamohomoho, with an armed force,

boarded the vessels. Captain Brown and Captain Gordon were killed and all the sailors on board at the time made prisoners. Simultaneously, a mob of natives wounded and overpowered the sailors on shore. Mate Lamport and party were also assaulted and, after being savagely beaten, brought captive to Honolulu.

Kalanikupule and his chiefs, having these two vessels with their munitions of war in possession, felt in position for an immediate invasion of Hawaii. Mate Lamport and a gang of sailors were compelled, under a guard, to prepare the vessels for the expedition. All the guns and ammunition having been put on board, the king, on January 11, embarked with a retinue of chiefs. The vessels were warped out of the harbor and anchored off Waikiki. Contrary to the advice of Kamohomoho, the king had disposed his soldiers in a canoe flotilla, setting the vessels apart for the accommodation of himself and attendant chiefs. Suddenly rising at midnight, on a prearranged signal, the sailors in both vessels attacked the natives. After a brief struggle they had cleared the decks and made the king and queen, with a few of their retainers, prisoners in the cabin. Then setting sail they stood to the southward till daybreak, when, sending the royal couple and one servant ashore in a canoe, they headed for Hawaii. Calling at that island for provisions they landed three women remaining of the royal entourage, also gave information to Kamehameha of all the Oahu happenings, and then sailed for China.

Kamehameha, with the concurrence of his advisers, now decided the time ripe for completing his conquests. Forthwith he mobilized the largest and best equipped army and fleet the islands had ever contained. Tradition has it that he mustered 16,000 men. There were sixteen foreigners in his service. Peter Anderson joined Young and Davis to handle the artillery. It was in February, 1795, that the invincible horde struck in at Lahaina. That town was destroyed and all West Maui speedily

subjugated. Koalaukane, commanding the defenders, did not abide a collision, but fled to Oahu. At Kaunakakai, Molokai, the next point of contact, the canoes lined four miles of the beach. Kaiana, not having received an invitation to a council of war held at Kaunakakai, made up his mind that his undoing had been decreed. The next destination of the armada was Oahu, and during the voyage Kaiana and his brother, Nahiolea, with their followers, deserted the line. They landed in Koolau and, crossing the island, joined Kalanikupule.

Landing in Waialae Bay, Kamehameha devoted a few days to preparations for the advance inland. Then he moved forward to attack Kalanikupule's forces, which had been strategically posted in Nuuanu Valley. Kaiana was leading the Oahu forces when encountered at Laima and Puiwa, and they offered a brave resistance until a cannon ball killed Kaiana. Then they broke and were pursued relentlessly up the valley. Some of the fugitives clambered up the steep sides of the mountains on either side and so escaped, but a large host was driven over the precipice at the head of the valley. (This place, known as the Nuuanu Pali, is one of the greatest scenic attractions in the Hawaiian Islands.) For months after the battle Kalanikupule wandered in the Koolau mountains, being eventually captured in a cave near Waipio. He was offered in sacrifice to the conqueror's wargod at Moanalua. Koalaukane, his brother and the Lahaina fugitive above-mentioned, escaped to Kauai. No general massacres followed the conquest, but the people of Oahu were subjected to severe privations and oppression. According to the old-time custom the friends of Kamehameha had all of the lands apportioned among them, while his thousands of followers, unmerciful and unrestrained, like a plague of locusts, devoured the substance of the conquered inhabitants.

It was about the end of April, 1795, that the battle of Nuuanu was fought. After dividing the lands of Oahu, Kamehameha set his mind

on the conquest of Kauai and Niihau. In this project the fates would seem to have been against him, for unforeseen disasters blocked all his attempts. He never laid a conqueror's hand on those two islands, yet fifteen years after the conquest of Oahu they dropped like a ripe apple into his lap. Meantime he fought his last war in putting down a rebellion on the island of Hawaii.

Kamehameha's initial step toward the subjugation of Kauai and Niihau was the building of a forty-ton vessel to carry his four-pounder guns, and on this he put his foreign mechanics to work. There arrived in February, 1796, the British discovery ship *Providence*, commanded by Captain Broughton. Kamehameha went on board in European clothes, over which he wore a gorgeous feather cloak, and making handsome presents to the commander begged him for arms and ammunition. Captain Broughton steadfastly refused to give him any, and ineffectually urged him to abandon his purpose of invading Kauai. Having made the first survey of Honolulu harbor the captain sailed for the northwest coast, calling on the way outward at Kauai. Civil war existed there between the respective followers of Kaumualii and Keawe. Kaumualii was the young prince whose characteristics had pleased Vancouver, and Keawe a grandson of Peleiohalani, whose fame as king of Oahu has been mentioned. Captain Broughton vainly attempted to mediate for peace, and again firmly declined urgent requests for munitions of war. On this visit to the islands, he having been with Cook's expedition, Broughton observed that the population was diminishing. The extreme misery of the Oahu people, resulting from Kamehameha's down-treading of them, he also remarked.

Without waiting for the completion of his battleship, Kamehameha, in April, sailed with his army from Waianae. As a preliminary he had dedicated a temple with human sacrifices. When the fleet was less than quarter way across the channel it was driven back by a storm, with the

loss of many canoes. Before starting on this ill-fated expedition, Kamehameha had caused all the hogs on Oahu to be destroyed, and, from this action, together with the neglect of cultivation, a severe famine ensued. To satiate their hunger people stole from the chiefs, for which conduct most barbarous punishments were inflicted. Several were burned alive as terrifying examples.

Namakeha, a brother of Kaiana, meanwhile headed a rebellion in Kau against Kamehameha and was joined by the former warriors of Keoua. He gained the upper hand, not only in that district but in Puna and Hilo. A European was killed in one of the battles. Kamehameha went to Hawaii with the bulk of his army in August, and meeting the rebels at Kaipalaoa, Hilo, completely vanquished them. Namakeha was captured after the rout and immolated at the temple of Piihonua.

In July preceding the last war of Kamehameha, Captain Broughton returned from Nootka Sound. Calling at Kealakekua Bay for water and supplies he observed a goodly increase of the cattle that Vancouver had left. At Oahu Kamehameha boarded the vessel and requested Captain Broughton to carry him and his principal chiefs to Hawaii. It is probably fortunate for him that the request had to be denied, as he would doubtless have been in extreme jeopardy if landed on Hawaii without a force at his back while a triumphant rebel host was abroad. Captain Broughton, calling at Kauai, found that Keawe was apparently in control and had tabued the sale of supplies for anything but arms and ammunition. But the usurper was afterward killed, whereby Kaumualii came to his own. The last tragic affair that ever took place between foreign visitors and natives at this time happened. Captain Broughton was buying yams at the island of Niihau and, on July 30, sent the cutter ashore with two armed marines for the last boatload. Suddenly attacking the party, the natives killed the two marines. A strong party went to the assistance of the sailors, who had escaped to the boat in a close race, and

the murders were avenged by the burning of the village, the demolition of sixty canoes and the killing of four natives in the emeute. Another incident of the same year was the wreck of the snow *Arthur*, commanded by Captain Henry Barber, which called in October *en voyage* from Bengal to the northwest coast, and, after taking in supplies at Waikiki, sailed for Kauai. She went ashore at a point between Pearl Harbor and Waianae, which took the name of Barber's Point from the event, and has for many years been marked with a lighthouse. Six men in one boat were drowned, the rest of the crew escaping. Under the direction of John Young the natives recovered much of the ship's stores and cargo of furs, and later the king recovered her cannon and kept it for himself.

Before renewing his project of gathering Kauai and Niihau into his dominions, Kamehameha advanced a policy of consolidation to assure the permanence of his sovereignty over the remaining and major part of the group. Claiming all of the lands as his own by right of conquest, he portioned them out to his followers under feudal tenure. In this operation regard was had to rank and services rendered, and the conditions were further military service and tithings of the land's revenues. Land was allotted in detached pieces to break up the old district chieftainships, while the chiefs whose characteristics denoted need of watching them were kept near the king's person—wherever he stayed and wherever he traveled. Then he maintained a large secret service, employing therein women as well as men, to give prompt warning of any disaffection. Trusted men were made governors of the different islands, as, for instance, John Young of Hawaii and Keeaumoku of Maui. Subject to his approval the governors appointed tax collectors and other district officers. For his chief counselors he chose the four great Kona chiefs, who had brought him forward as their leader and aided him in all his wars, together with Kalanimoku, otherwise William Pitt, who

acted as premier and treasurer. Having laid such a foundation of national polity, Kamehameha set about promoting a revival of industry. He also put in force rigorous measures for the prevention of crime. The tabu system he maintained until the end of his life, using it along with a strict code of court etiquette to buttress his authority. By according hospitality and protection to foreigners he built up trade with the outside world and obtained great benefit from the counsel of white men. According to Alexander, he "showed his superior sagacity and insight into character by his selection of foreign advisers, and was never imposed upon by worthless adventurers." Kamehameha had a plurality of wives, his head queen being Keopuolani—descended from the highest chiefs of Maui and Hawaii—but his favorite queen, Kaahumanu.

After putting down the rebellion on Hawaii, Kamehameha remained there six years. Then he spent more than a year at Lahaina, living in a two-story brick house that two foreigners built for him. While on Hawaii he had constructed a fleet of wide and deep war canoes, also a few decked vessels built by native carpenters under the supervision of James Boyd. Liholiho, heir to the throne, was born of Keopuolani at Hilo in 1797. There was an eruption from a crater on the western slope of Mount Hualalai in 1801, which did much damage to villages and lands below. Sacrifices were offered to the goddess Pele, hundreds of hogs being cast into the burning lava flow, but the eruption was not abated. Kamehameha ultimately threw a cluster of his own supposedly sacred hair into the fiery stream and, as the flow ceased within a day or two afterward, of course the effectiveness of the talisman was demonstrated. The king went to Lahaina with his handsome new fleet. His stay on Maui was occupied in collecting the taxes and in consecrating new temples, the latter with the ancient blood rites and the baby heir taking a part. Kameeiomoku died at Lahaina, his son Hoapili succeeding him in the king's council. The first horses ever seen in the

islands were brought by Captain Cleveland, voyaging from California to China in 1803. On the 24th of May he landed a mare and foal at Kawaihae for John Young, and two days later a horse and mare at Lahaina as a present for the king. "Their beauty and mettle," Alexander says, "excited the wonder and admiration of the natives. In spite of his advanced age, Kamehameha afterward became a good horseman."

The same year Kamehameha, with his fleet and army, returned to Oahu. He had then twenty small vessels of 20 to 40 tons, some of them copper-bottomed. In 1804, he exchanged his schooner, with a sum of money to boot, for a Mr. Shaler's brig, *Lelia Byrd*, of 175 tons, which had arrived from California leaking. The brig was repaired to seaworthy condition in Honolulu harbor by George McClay, the king's carpenter, and afterward made several voyages in the sandalwood trade to China.

By far the most dreadful calamity of his whole career, indeed one of the most appalling that ever visited the islands, in the year 1804 stopped Kamehameha from making an invasion of Kauai, just as he had assembled an overwhelming force for that purpose with most elaborate preparations completed. A pestilence, that may have been the cholera, breaking out among his troops, spread throughout the island. Half of the population died. Kamehameha himself was smitten and, though he recovered, all of his chief counselors except Kalanimoku perished.

Kauai and Niihau arrived at their destiny of union with the rest of the group peacefully in 1810, cruel invasion having finally been averted by the wisdom and courage of Kaumualii, then for some years king. Partly through the intelligent magnanimity of Kamehameha, the great end was attained without Kaumualii's abdicating or having to submit to deposition. Kaumualii had grown up retaining and developing the

fine mental and physical qualities which, in his boyhood, had been the admiration of Vancouver. By his subjects and by foreigners he was universally beloved. He had reinforced his intelligence by acquiring the ability to read and write the English language. Though he had a well-armed body of warriors, he was fully aware that he could not cope with Kamehameha's hosts, and so he had white mechanics build him a schooner in which, if the necessity arose, he might fly to some placid region of the western seas. To avert such a necessity, however, he had recourse to diplomacy. Compliments, conveyed in messages and accentuated with gifts, had been exchanged between the two kings when, the way smoothed by such means, Kaumualii sent his cousin, Kamahalolani, with presents to Kamehameha and an offer to acknowledge him as his feudal superior. Kamehameha, in reply, stipulated that Kaumualii should make the cession in person, at the same time pledging his honor to afford him safe conduct and protection. Keoua's fate under somewhat similar circumstances being in Kaumualii's mind he hesitated, but a well-known sandalwood trader named Captain Jonathan Windship, leaving his mate as a hostage, prevailed on him to take passage in his ship for Honolulu. Kamehameha met him in state aboard the vessel, when a friendly interview was held in which Kaumualii offered the conqueror his islands. Kamehameha, however, "told him to continue to hold them in fief during his lifetime, on condition that Liholiho should be his heir." When Kaumualii had thereupon landed he was hospitably entertained, though Kamehameha was put to the honorable duty of refusing the advice of some of the chiefs to have the distinguished guest assassinated. The miscreants then plotted to poison Kaumualii at an appointed feast, but being warned by Isaac Davis he went aboard the ship, without attending the feast, and was carried back to Kauai. Mr. Davis, for thus preserving the king's honor and his own integrity, was himself poisoned by the vile satraps of the court.

END OF KAMEHAMEHA'S REIGN.

Those were the years in which the sandalwood trade was at its height, and in 1811 Kamehameha embarked for Hawaii in his schooner Keoua, attended by a flotilla of smaller craft, to attend to his sandalwood business. Off Lanai the Keoua sprang a leak, when a native ship-carpenter named Waipa jumped overboard and nailed canvas over the leak, checking it sufficiently to allow the schooner to return to Honolulu. The king ultimately reached Kealahou Bay in Captain Windship's vessel, afterward sailing to Lahaina and Molokai on taxation business. A cargo of sandalwood was sent to China by the king, Captain Windship taking it and returning a cargo of Chinese goods in exchange the following year. Owing to the neglect of agriculture, caused by the enforced labor of the people in cutting sandalwood, Hawaii was visited by famine. Kamehameha not only set his retinue at work planting, but with his own hands engaged in cultivating the soil, and Alexander says "the piece of ground which he tilled is still pointed out." His practical sagacity is also illustrated in the statements that he forbade the cutting of young sandalwood and instructed his bird-catchers not to strangle the birds from which they plucked the choice yellow feathers for royal cloaks, but to set them free that other feathers might grow in their place.

Prior to 1800 the art of distilling was introduced in Hawaii by Botany Bay convicts, and from the root of the "ti" plant, flourishing here, a spirit named okolehao was produced. Stills were constructed of pots obtained from ships with a gun barrel for the worm. The business extended rapidly, almost every chief having his still. Rum had also begun to be imported, and intemperance became lamentably prevalent. Kamehameha himself came under the alcoholic sway, but John Young convinced him of its evil and, by the exertion of his own will-

power, he first restricted himself to a small portion of liquor daily, and eventually abandoned its use teetotally. Near the close of his days he assembled the leading men of Hawaii at Kailua, when he ordered all of the stills to be destroyed and prohibited the manufacture of any kind of liquor. (Okolehao, however, has ever since been a hunted thing by the police of the islands. Under annexation the inland revenue officers are vigilant in prosecuting the "moonshiners," though their craft under United States law is legitimate, providing the prescribed tax is paid. At one of the Paris exhibitions a sample of okolehao, which had been seized by the Hawaiian authorities, was placed in the Government exhibit as a joke, but it won a medal for purity.)

Russians from Alaska made some trouble in Kamehameha's time by efforts to gain a foothold in the islands. There was also a visit from Spanish pirates. Kauikeaouli, the second son of Kamehameha by Keopuolani, was born at Keauhou, Hawaii, August 11, 1813. Kamehameha persisted in ship-owning enterprises. The ship *Lark*, belonging to Astor, was stranded on the island of Kahoclawe, and Kamehameha relieved the wants of the crew, but claimed the wreck for himself. In October, 1816, he acquired the ship *Albatross*, 165 tons, from John Ebbets for 400 piculs of sandalwood. The brig *Forester* had been purchased, for similar consideration in kind, from Captain Piggott and her name changed to *Kaahumanu*. Through this purchase Kamehameha had a feel of the seamy side of modern speculation. He sent the *Kaahumanu* in March, 1817, under Captain Alexander Adams, to Canton with sandalwood. She called at Kauai to haul down the Russian colors and hoist Kamehameha's, and returned from China in October. Owing partly to the refusal of the Chinese authorities to recognize the Hawaiian flag, the king lost about three thousand dollars by the venture. Previously the *Keoua* had been taken to Macao by Captain Davis, but was never brought back. The *Bordeaux Packet*, a 160-ton brig, was another

purchase for sandalwood. It was on account of the Russian menace (1809-1817) that John Young induced Kalanimoku in 1816 to erect the fort in Honolulu which afterward was famous as the national prison. This structure was between 300 and 400 feet square with walls twelve feet high and twenty feet thick. Its material was coral rock from the reef. There were embrasures for cannon in the walls. The Russians had early built a fort on Kauai, whose remains are still visible, but assurance was given the latter part of the period mentioned that the Russian Government did not approve the designs of the Governor of Alaska upon the Hawaiian Islands.

It is strange that Kamehameha should have developed a remarkable degree of political ability and a keen order of business enterprise, both judged from a civilized viewpoint, in his contact with white men, of whom not a few were above the average in character and mental caliber, without at the same time ridding himself of even the crudest and cruellest of the bonds of heathen superstition. Nearly thirty years after he had met civilized men for the first time, ten of his subjects were, by his orders, seized for sacrifice on account of the illness of Queen Kēpuolani, three of whom were immolated at Diamond Head before the patient took a turn for the better, which, to the heathen mind, implied that the gods were appeased, and hence the bloody rites might be curtailed. Then, two years later (1809), when his younger brother, Keliimaikai, died, the king did not prevent the horrible orgies that the old heathenism prescribed. Again, after nearly forty years of acquaintance with representatives of civilization, in the year 1818, "three men were sacrificed at Kēalakekua for petty violations of the tabu." And the reader has observed in what a matter of course manner Kamehameha became accessory after the fact to utterly treacherous murders for putting out of the way chiefs as high-born as himself, besides personally devoting to cold-blooded slaughter and sacrifice antagonists as brave as himself, whom



Queen Kamamalu



King Liholiho (Kamehameha II.)

the issue of battle put in his power. It was only at the very end of his days that the principle of the paramount sacredness of human life appears to have found lodgment in his heart. "The men are sacred to the king" (Lunalilo, the heir, being meant), is reported to have been the answer he made to the priests when, in his last illness, they proposed that a number of his fellow-beings should be sacrificed to obtain from his patron deity an extension of his ebbing life. He is said to have inquired, late in life, about the civilizing revolution at the Society Islands and the nature of the Christian religion, but nobody was at hand able to gratify his curiosity.

Kamehameha died at Kailua, Hawaii, May 8, 1819, aged 82 years. Liholiho forthwith left for Kohala, the district of Kona being polluted, according to the superstition. Although the customary period of license was observed to a degree indescribable—all law suspended and all restraints removed—it would appear that the usual human sacrifice was not offered. Having been deified, the bones of Kamehameha were removed by Hoapili, who concealed them in a cave in North Kona, the location of which has never been discovered.

THE TABU SYSTEM ABOLISHED.

Liholiho, or Kamehameha II, returned to Kailua in due time and was installed as king on the second day after his arrival. He was not to have undivided authority, for Kamehameha had appointed Kaahumanu as premier, or chief counselor, who should have equal governing powers with the king. She had been the guardian of the prince and, as already stated, the favorite queen. Liholiho, as heir apparent, had evinced characteristics that convinced Kamehameha he could not be entrusted to rule by himself, hence the extension of Kaahumanu's guardianship over him into a co-ordination of sovereignty. Kamehameha's will, besides making Liholiho king over all the islands, committed to

Kekuaokalani, nephew of Kamehameha, the keeping of the war god Kukailimoku. For a long time the leading chiefs and the high priest, Hewahewa, had been without faith in the ancient gods, and the two queens, Keopuolani and Kaahumanu, with the connivance of the highest female chiefs, before Kamehameha's death, secretly decided to abolish the tabu system. It was proposed to Kaahumanu, by the six chiefs in council on the morning of Kamehameha's death, that the tabu be renounced forthwith, but she deferred action for a more opportune occasion. There was much pomp at the installation of Liholiho, the king-elect and all the chiefs being in full regalia. When Liholiho, with his brilliant retinue, emerged from the temple he was met by Kaahumanu, arrayed in like regal habiliments to himself, and she thereupon declared the will of the departed sovereign constituting Liholiho king and herself premier with equal powers. In conclusion, she proposed that the tabus be thenceforth disregarded. But the king was silent. It was a hard thing to ask of him. He had been sedulously nurtured in idolatry and his father, upon his deathbed, had adjured him never to forsake the gods. That very evening Keopuolani, the queen dowager of highest blood rank, sent for the king's youngest brother, Kauikeaouli, to eat with her. Flagrant a violation of tabu as this would be, Liholiho consented to it. The king himself kept the tabus inviolate, and later undertook to consecrate temples at Kawaihae and Honokohau, but in both cases so much drunkenness and disorder prevailed that the essential ingredient of absolute silence could not be obtained—hence the ceremonies were, under the traditions, vitiated.

At this time the French discovery ship *Uranie*, in command of Captain Freycinet, arrived at Kailua. After making some scientific observations on shore, having been hospitably entertained by Kuakini, alias Governor Adams, he went to Kawaihae and spent several days in friendly intercourse with the king and chiefs. There was apprehension of civil

war from the disaffection of Kekuaokalani (custodian of the wargod), and at council held on August 14, 1819, Captain Freycinet declared that France and England were allies and ready to assist Liholiho in maintaining his sovereignty. Kalanimoku, at his own request, was baptized aboard ship by the Abbe De Quelen, chaplain of the *Uranie*. Captain Freycinet, after a visit to Lahaina, proceeded to Honolulu. Boki, then acting governor of Oahu, having been told of his elder brother Kalanimoku's baptism, asked that he also be baptized, which was done aboard the *Uranie*.

Liholiho had in the meantime received a message from Kaahumanu asking him to return to Kailua and abolish idolatry. In compliance he sailed with his retainers in canoes, and during two days of carousing afloat he repeatedly violated the tabu. At Kailua the king sat down to a great feast prepared for the occasion before his arrival, openly regaling himself in a large assembly of chiefs of both sexes. A multitude of the common people gazed with awe upon such a conspicuous defiance of the gods, expecting to see a fiery deluge, or something equally malefic, descend upon the festive assemblage. As nothing happened but the ebullitions of human good cheer, the onlookers shouted, "The tabus are at an end, and the gods are a lie." It was the idols upon which the lately feared deluge of fire descended. An iconoclastic frenzy at that instant started at Kailua and swept over the nation. The first to apply the torch to the idols and their fanes was the high priest, and the purifying flames went shooting upward from every sacred hill and grove in the islands. Kaumualii, the excellent ruler, was glad to receive the message apprising him of the revolution, and Kauai joined the other islands in a jubilation over the overthrow of superstition's hoary sway. "But," in the words of Alexander, "the tabu system was too ancient and deeply rooted to be given up without a struggle."

A champion of the discarded system appeared in the person of Ke-

kuaokalani, who, resentful at Liholiho's active apostacy, retired to Kaawaloa. Priests that would not follow the high priest in disavowing the gods assembled about him, asking him to be king and uttering the ancient proverb: "A religious chief shall possess a kingdom, but irreligious chiefs shall always be poor." Likewise many of the chiefs and people offered their persons in defense of the ancient religion under Kekuaokalani's banner. In the district of Hamakua, over the mountain from where he was, an armed rising of the rebel chief's adherents killed a chief named Kainapau. Kaahumanu, who meantime had been encouraging wild revels at Kailua over the emancipation, now realized danger. It was decided on consultation to adopt a conciliatory policy. The Dowager Keopuolani accompanied the chief Hoapili and the orator Naihe on a mission to dissuade Kekuaokalani from hostility. The ambassadors were glad to get away alive from the meeting. Kekuaokalani was only moved by their appeals to resolve on immediate action, hoping that he might effect a surprise on Kailua and carry everything before him. Kaahumanu and her general, Kalanimoku, however, anticipated his scheme. The same night on which the embassy returned from the rebel camp guns and ammunition, of which the king had shortly before purchased \$11,000 worth from an American trader, were served out to the troops. They marched forth next morning and met the rebels about four miles north of Kaawaloa. Several men were dropped by the fire of a rebel scouting party, causing the royalists to retire behind a stone wall. On finding that it was but a small party, they left cover and, chasing the scouts, were shortly in front of the main body of the enemy. In the general battle that ensued Kekuaokalani's troops were driven toward the seashore, there coming under an enfilading fire from canoes. On one of these a mounted gun was handled by a foreign gunner. Kekuaokalani died like a hero. His wife, in equally heroic sacrifice, became reunited to him in death. Though wounded early in the battle Kekuaok-

kalani continued to fight and to rally his followers. Ellis, the historian, thus describes the ending of the rebel chief and his devoted partner: "Unable to stand, from loss of blood, he sat on a fragment of lava and twice loaded and fired his musket at the advancing foe. He now received a ball in the left breast and, covering his face with his feather cloak, expired in the midst of his men. His wife, Manono, during the whole of the battle, had fought by his side with steady and dauntless courage. A few moments after her husband's death she called out for quarter, but the words had hardly left her lips before she received a bullet in her left temple, fell upon the lifeless body of her husband and expired."

Their leaders being no more, the rebels were quickly dispersed or captured. Hoapili headed a detachment that easily suppressed the revolt in Hamakua. Kuawa, the priest most instrumental in instigating Kekuaokalani's rebellion, was killed in popular tumult against idolatry which now broke out afresh. With a few exceptions the remaining sanctuaries and their contained "stocks and stones" were demolished. "All public worship and sacrifices ceased," Alexander says and, quoting the words of Jarves, "Hawaii presented to the world the strange spectacle of a nation without a religion," adds: "Still the ancient idolatry was cherished by many in secret, and many of their superstitions, especially those relating to sorcery and the cause of disease, were destined to survive for generations to come, and to blend with and color their conceptions of Christianity."

LIHOLIHO'S INGLORIOUS REIGN.

At the moment "the strange spectacle" the historian mentions appeared, a religion was being carried to the nation from the shores of New England. An account of the American mission is reserved for another place, its relation to Liholiho appearing to be slight, beyond the fact that, on their arrival, the missionaries received permission from him to stay one year—a term that, it would appear, became indefinitely extended. The reader may have wondered, over the narration of the exciting events attendant on the abolition of idolatry, what the king was doing that he made no figure in affairs so momentous for his kingdom. Perhaps the following estimate of the man by Alexander will explain his nonentity on the occasions described, as well as discount any surprise at the ignoble part he later played:

"The conduct of Liholiho formed a striking contrast to that of his father. Discarding the old counselors of his father, he chose his favorites out of the lowest class of whites, and spent most of his time in revelry and debauchery. He spent much time in roving from place to place with a numerous train of worthless retainers, who ravaged the land like a swarm of locusts. The treasures accumulated by his father were squandered, and he was soon involved in ruinous debts. (For example, in 1820 he purchased from Captain Suter a beautiful yacht called *Cleopatra's Barge*, built in Salem, Mass., for \$90,000, to be paid in sandalwood. Her name was then changed to *Haaheo o Hawaii*—'Pride of Hawaii.' The brig *Thaddeus* was also bought for \$40,000.)"

To nothing but a degenerate hound can Liholiho be compared in his treatment of the good king of Kauai. Keeping dark his design,

Liholiho, on July 21, 1821, left Honolulu in an open sailboat, ostensibly for Ewa, taking with him the chiefs Boki and Naihe, besides thirty attendants, of whom two were women. Arriving off the mouth of Pearl Harbor the king refused to enter, and, when the boat had rounded Barber's Point, he ordered it steered for Kauai. Neither with provisions nor in navigation requirements was the cockle-shell craft equipped for such a voyage, while high seas and strong winds made the madness of the thing commanded still more evident to the wiser heads of the company. In maudlin condition the king answered all remonstrances by spreading out the fingers of one hand and saying: "Here is your compass; steer by this." When the boat had twice been nigh capsized, with waves breaking over it, he overruled the frantic pleadings to put back, with a command to bail out the water and go on; also, the crazy boast that, if the boat returned, he would swim to Kauai. After a night of extreme peril on the waves the party arrived off Waimea at dawn. Kaumualii—acting differently to what most of his contemporary chiefs would have done—received Liholiho with hospitality and accorded him every honor. Then, having sent his brig to Oahu with word of Liholiho's safety and to fetch his wives to Kauai, Kaumualii, on the second day, before a gathering of chiefs, addressing Liholiho, offered to surrender to him his kingdom, fort, vessels and guns. In profound silence the answer was anxiously listened for, and at last it came, thus: "I did not come here to take away your island. Keep your country and take care of it as before, and do what you please with your vessels." The hypocrisy of Liholiho's professions of friendship was soon exposed.

Several weeks having been spent by the two kings in a tour of the island, Kaumualii, the day they returned, was invited on board the Cleopatra's Barge. While he was making himself comfortable in the cabin, secret orders were given to sail for Oahu. Thus he was actually borne away captive by the man who had so recently disclaimed any design of

harm to himself or his kingdom. Such dastardly acts as this are an ironical commentary upon the severest things the Hawaiians could say in later times about their treatment by foreigners who had come to rule their country's affairs. As "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn," so true is it that the most cruel oppressors of the Hawaiians—the most unconscionable violators of their private rights—known in all their history were Hawaiians. After Kaumualii was taken to Honolulu he had to marry the dowager and premier, Kaahumanu, who also made matrimonial conquest of his son, Kealiiohonui. The imperious woman is heard of later as making tours of the group, with the Kauai king the most prominent figure in her large escort, receiving, at central points in her progress, vast offerings of products, destroying idols and holding high revelry.

Liholiho would seem to have earned mention in his own reign only by his utter abandonment of all semblance of dignity and decorum. An annual feast was held in commemoration of his accession, which in 1823 was magnificent in barbaric display. Liholiho's wives and his youngest brother and sister were carried in procession on the last day of the festivities. Kamamalu, the head queen, was borne in a whaleboat supported on the shoulders of seventy men. She was gorgeously robed in scarlet silk, on her head a feather coronet, and the bearers in the outer ranks were clad in scarlet and yellow feather cloaks and helmets. Upon opposite quarters of the boat two high chiefs stood, each holding a scarlet kahili on a thirty-foot staff. Hundreds of dancing and singing girls in parties met the procession here and there, circling about the highest chiefs as they chanted extravagantly worshipful lays in their honor. Alexander, in a footnote, says: "One of the queen dowagers wore seventy-two yards of orange and scarlet kerseymere, which was wrapped around her waist until her arms were sustained by it in a horizontal position, and the remainder was formed into a train supported by her attendants,"

(Surely, this picture reveals one of those touches of nature which make the whole world kin. Is it really more ridiculous, when the isolation of Hawaii in that day is considered, than much of the dress parade of high civilization which the modiste and the milliner create from bolts of drapery and boxes of feathers?) While the queen was making this grand progress the king and his suite, in drunken and almost naked state, rode horses bareback, randomly from point to point, escorted by a mob of fifty or sixty men running afoot.

King Liholiho died in London on July 14, 1824, Queen Kama-malu's death eight days previous having so depressed him that he could not rally under an attack of the measles. This malady had overtaken the Hawaiian royal pair and their entire retinue while on a visit to the British metropolis. They had sailed from Honolulu in the English whale-ship *L'Aigle*, commanded by Captain Starbuck, an American, on November 27, 1823. With the king and queen there were Boki, Liliha, his wife, Kekuanaoa, Kapihe, Manuai and James Young. Though the king and chiefs offered a handsome sum for the passage of Mr. Ellis, an English missionary lately from Tahiti, Captain Starbuck would not take him. A Frenchman named Jean B. Rives, who had secured passage, was employed as interpreter. Twenty-five thousand dollars in coin, taken along by the king for expenses, was committed to the custody of the captain. On the opening of the treasure chests at the Bank of England they were found to contain only ten thousand dollars. Captain Starbuck never rendered an account of the balance, beyond saying that three thousand dollars had been expended at Rio de Janeiro and an additional sum between Portsmouth and London. At Rio de Janeiro the vessel had called and the company been entertained with distinction by Emperor Dom Pedro and the British consul-general. It transpired that during the voyage the chiefs were encouraged to drink and gamble. Captain Starbuck landed the notable visitors at Portsmouth without

making any provision for their comfort or even notifying the authorities, but the government being apprised of their arrival by the vessel's owners appointed a guardian for them and thenceforth paid all their expenses. They had arrived at Portsmouth on May 22, 1824, and the disastrous visitation of measles occurred about June 10, when Manuia, the steward, was attacked. In the meantime they had been "feasted and flattered" by the English aristocracy, and shown all the great sights of the modern Babylon. After the death of the royal couple great kindness was manifested toward the survivors. They were received at Windsor Castle by George IV., who advised them to be guided by the counsels of the missionaries and promised his protection to their country.

Shortly prior to the death of Liholiho and his queen far from home the destroyer had selected two more shining marks among Hawaiian royalty. Keopuolani, the queen-mother and highest chief of blood rank, died on September 16, 1823, at Lahaina, whither she had removed her residence less than four months previously. Having embraced Christianity despite fierce opposition she induced three missionaries—two American and one Tahitian—to accompany her, and she established a mission station at Lahaina. In her last illness she was baptized, and gave strict orders that all heathen practices at her death should be omitted. In consequence, her "funeral was conducted in a quiet and orderly manner, with solemn religious rites," in striking contrast to the anarchy on similar occasions formerly. What such an event signified of change in the national customs may be inferred from the fact that, notwithstanding the dying mandate of the commanding personage, many of the natives, when she died, fled for their lives to the mountains, as if they could not believe it possible that a high chief should pass away without the old superstition's terrors supervening.

Kaumualii, king of Kauai, died on May 26, 1824, at Lahaina and was buried beside Keopuolani. His death was made the occasion of

civil disorder and bloodshed. He had bequeathed his kingdom to Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku in trust for Liholiho. Upon the news of his death the heathen party rose on Kauai and committed many outrages. When Kahalaia, a nephew of Kalanimoku, was appointed governor a conspiracy to depose him was formed. Kalanimoku, going to the island to settle its affairs, convened a council at Waimea, at which he declared the late king's will and refused to accede to the demand of the disaffected chiefs for a new division of lands. A combination of heathen chiefs induced George Humehume to become their leader, promising to make him king of Kauai and Niihau. They were repulsed in a fierce attack on the Waimea fort, with a loss of ten men. Six of the garrison, including two young Englishmen, were killed in the fight. Kalanimoku the next day sent a schooner to Oahu and Maui for assistance, and by his advice two American missionaries went to Honolulu in the vessel. The news of the war caused great excitement at Honolulu and Lahaina, and Hoapili sailed for Kauai with a thousand warriors from Oahu and two companies from Maui. Landing at Waimea he had his forces ready for battle on August 18, which was only ten days after the struggle for the fort, and the hostile armies met two miles inland east of Hanapepe. The insurgents were posted there with two field pieces, the speedy capture of which, with the loss of but one of the loyalists, decided the day. The rebels broke and ran, when forty or fifty of them were slain in a merciless pursuit. George Humehume escaped, but after hiding some weeks in the mountains was captured. Kalanimoku treated him kindly and sent him to Oahu, where he lived in peace until his death two years later. After the suppression of the rebellion Kaahumanu called a council of high chiefs to settle the affairs of Kauai as conquered territory. The malcontent chiefs were deported to other islands and their lands divided among the loyalists. A famous warrior named Kaikioewa was made governor.

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES ARRIVE.

Humehume, otherwise known as George Tamoree, had served in the United States navy both in the war of 1812 with Great Britain and in the war with Algiers. He was a son of King Kaumualii by a common woman and was sent to America in his childhood for an education. After his naval service he spent some time in a foreign mission school at Cornwall, Conn., which was started in 1817 for the instruction of young men from heathen lands. Humehume returned to his native land as a fellow-passenger with the first Christian missionaries from New England, in the brig *Thaddeus* that sailed from Boston on October 23, 1819, and arrived off the Kohala coast, Island of Hawaii, on March 31, 1820. This arrival is intimately related to succeeding events about to be related. The missionary party "consisted of two clergymen and five laymen, with their wives, besides three Hawaiian youths from the Cornwall school, who were to act as assistants, namely, Kanui, Hopu, and Honolii." As to the origin of the mission, Alexander says: "A strong interest in the Hawaiian people was awakened by several Hawaiian youths who had been taken to the United States as seamen, and especially by Opukahaia, commonly known as Obookiah."

When the *Thaddeus* came near the Kohala shore J. Hunnewell, the first mate, went ashore to learn the state of the country and returning to the vessel reported: "Liholiho is king. The tabus are abolished. The idols are burned. The temples are destroyed. There has been war, but now there is peace." This was remarkably good news for the missionaries. They were visited on board by Kalanimoku and two

female chiefs, who sailed with them to Kailua. There Captain Blanchard, master of the brig, went ashore with Messrs. Bingham and Thurston, taking Hopu as interpreter, and called on the king. The missionaries explained their errand and asked permission to reside in the country. John Young having used his influence on their behalf, assuring the chiefs that the Americans taught the same religion as Vancouver's promised teachers should, a week later permission for them to stay one year was granted. Some were to reside at Kailua, the rest at Honolulu, but Kaumualii's urgent request to have two of the party stationed on Kauai was gratified. "The first pupils of the missionaries were the chiefs and their favorite attendants, and the wives and the children of foreigners. At first their teaching was entirely in English, but by degrees they devoted their time and energies more and more to the task of mastering the Hawaiian language, and of reducing it to writing, until they made it their chief medium of instruction." (Alexander.) Printing was first done on January 7, 1822, an eight-page form of a Hawaiian spelling-book being struck off. The king and some of the chiefs took an interest in the process. After much mental labor the missionaries had adopted an alphabet of twelve letters, giving the vowels the Italian powers, for expressing the language. It was not long after the press had been started before the king and chiefs had learned to read and write. Following the settlement of affairs on Kauai the leading chiefs increased their efforts for the suppression of drunkenness and vice, also for the promotion of education. Within two years two thousand persons were able to read and the chiefs, detailing the brightest pupils in their retinues as teachers, ordered the tenants of their lands to attend school. Summoned by the blowing of conch shells, the bulk of the population, all over the islands, assembled for an hour or two of instruction every afternoon. Schools for children began to be opened in 1832, which gradually superseded those

for adults. More than 23,000 people were readers in 1832, when a census was taken which gave a population of 130,312. In 1837 a boarding school for boys, with manual training as an adjunct, was opened at Hilo and one for girls at Wailuku. The Hilo institution survives today in vigorous condition. A newspaper was started at Lahainaluna in February, 1834, and another at Honolulu in October following. The missionaries about that time had a magazine, "The Spectator," in English regularly published in English at Honolulu. "The Sandwich Island Gazette," started in 1836, was the first English newspaper published at Honolulu.

Kauikeaouli, second son of Kamehameha by Keopuolani, began to reign as Kamehameha III. in 1833 when he reached his majority (twenty years of age by Hawaiian custom). In the meantime, following the death of Liholiho (Kamehameha II.), Kaahumanu continued to rule as regent with Kalanimoku as prime minister. This interim was full of troubles that overlapped into the new reign, created by the commanders of foreign ships as well as by domestic reactionaries. Notable incidents that were the contrary of humiliating to humanity also in the same period occurred.

The story of Princess Kapiolani's defiance of Pele, the peculiarly dreaded goddess of fire, rivals anything in the world's annals of sublime heroism. Kapiolani was the daughter of Keaweamauhili, the great Hilo chief. Having abandoned notoriously evil ways, she became supreme among Hawaiian women for refinement of mind and manners. Determining to bring the fear of Pele into contempt, she traveled from Kealakekua to the Volcano of Kilauea, a distance of more than a hundred miles, for the purpose of publicly defying the goddess. The journey was mostly performed on foot and undertaken contrary to the urgent remonstrances of the brave woman's husband and friends. Yet a company of eighty persons joined her in the expedition. At the verge

of the vast caldera Kapiolani was confronted by the priestess of Pele, who warned her against going near the abyss, with a prediction that she should surely die if she violated Pele's tabus. "Who are you?" Kapiolani demanded, and the reply came, "One in whom the goddess dwells," the priestess then proceeding to read a pretended letter from the fiery divinity. Kapiolani's response to the fraudulent epistle was a recitation of passages from the Bible magnifying the name and the power of God, which silenced the priestess except for the confession that the deity had forsaken her. Going forward to the brink of the caldera Kapiolani spent the night in a hut built for her there. In the morning, attended by her numerous retinue, she made the descent of five hundred feet to a ledge of congealed lava overlooking the burning pit. Taking her stand there, she ate Pele's consecrated berries and, throwing stones into the lake of fire and brimstone, declaimed her defiance, thus: "Jehovah is my God. He kindled these fires. I fear not Pele. If I perish by her anger, then you may fear Pele; but if I trust in Jehovah, and he preserve me when breaking her tabus, then you must fear and serve him alone." With a hymn and a prayer in worship of the Creator the ceremony ended.

Kaahumanu also became a changed woman, so much so that the people called her "the new Kaahumanu." From the godless and reveling iconoclast merely, as she has been seen in former pages, the year 1825 found her a zealous propagandist of Christian faith, hope and virtue, with her energetic nature dedicated thenceforth to the education and elevation of the people.

To make clear an account of the troubles of this time, some previously omitted information may here be presented. The pioneer band of Christian missionaries from New England was not long without reinforcement, the first aid being English from the south, and accidental so to speak. Rev. W. Ellis and two converted chiefs from the Soci-

ety Islands arrived in April, 1822, in the brig *Mermaid* whose master, Captain Kent, was commissioned to present to Liholiho a schooner of seventy tons called the *Prince Regent*, having six guns, built at Port Jackson, New South Wales, in fulfilment of a promise by Vancouver to Kamehameha I. They were going with Messrs. Tyerman and Bennett to start a mission on the Marquesas Islands, but, being detained in Honolulu four months while the *Mermaid* went to Fanning's Island for *beche de mer*, Mr. Ellis with his family and one of the Tahitians were induced to stay in these islands, and Mr. and Mrs. Ellis, going to Tahiti in the *Mermaid*, brought two Tahitian teachers back with them in February, 1823, in the vessel *Active*, Captain Richard Charlton. Owing to similarity between different Polynesian languages, Mr. Ellis on his first visit had mastered the Hawaiian tongue. On April 27, 1823, the first reinforcement of the mission from America, consisting of six missionaries and their wives, arrived in the vessel *Thames*, Captain Clasby. Honolulu had then 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants and four mercantile houses trading with the northwest coast of America, the Spanish Main and China. American whaleships were frequenting the harbors. While the chiefs were now putting on civilized style in clothing and house furnishing, the poverty and misery of the common people had increased. It is mentioned by Alexander that the first Christian marriage in the islands was solemnized August 11, 1822, between Thomas Hopu and Delia, before a large assembly.

Captain Charlton, already mentioned, being appointed British consul-general for the Society and Hawaiian groups, returned to Honolulu in the *Active* on April 16, 1825. The British 45-gun frigate *Blonde*, commanded by Lord Byron, a cousin of the poet, arrived off Lahaina on May 24, 1825, with the bodies of the late king and queen, together with their retinue. After a short stay at Lahaina, where some of the home-coming party were received on shore with the wailings char-

acteristic of mourning (as well as of welcoming friends) the Blonde took some chiefs on board and proceeded to Honolulu, where the party landed on the 6th. Lord Byron and his officers were accorded a state reception at Kalanimoku's house the following day, when the commander made a gracious speech and distributed presents from the British Government—"a gold watch to Kalanimoku, a silver teapot for Kaahumanu and a rich suit of Windsor uniform, with hat and sword, for the little prince Kauikeaouli."—(Alexander.) The embryo king at once donned his finery, strutting about in it.

There was a combination of European and Hawaiian ceremonies at the obsequies of the late king and queen, whose bodies in triple coffins covered with crimson velvet were with great state landed and deposited in a temporary mausoleum. The reader will note the radical departure here from the ancient custom of preserving the bones of a high chief for concealment in some cave by a surviving peer of the departed. A national council of chiefs was held at Honolulu on June 6—the sixteenth day after the double funeral—to decide on the succession and do other weighty business appurtenant thereto. Kauikeaouli, the young prince, was proclaimed king as Kamehameha III. During his minority Kaahumanu was to continue her regency with Kalanimoku for minister. Lord Byron, who attended the council, gave utterance to his approval of the work of the American missionaries and, among other helpful advice to the chiefs, directed them in drawing up port regulations that forthwith were published. On sailing for Hilo the next day the Blonde took Kaahumanu and her suite as passengers. Lord Byron, with his scientific staff, surveyed the crater of Kilauea and the Bay of Hilo, the latter being in consequence thereafter called Byron's Bay. After another visit to Honolulu he erected a monument to Captain Cook at Kealakekua Bay, from whence the Blonde sailed for England. "Lord Byron," Alexander says, "was a

worthy successor of Vancouver, and won the gratitude and respect of both the natives and the better class of foreigners. If he had left here a suitable representative of his government, imbued with his own humane and enlightened views, the subsequent history of the islands would have been very different."

FOREIGNERS MAKE TROUBLE.

Having under the influence of the distinguished Englishman undertaken to suppress vices destructive to their race, the chiefs were at once confronted with malicious opposition to that policy from unprincipled foreigners. Violent manifestations of hostility to reform broke out, both at Honolulu and Lahaina. "No God this side of Cape Horn," is said to have been the motto of the disturbing element, and "a series of disgraceful outrages" to compel the repeal of the newly-made laws against drunkenness and other vices ensued. "Mr. Charlton, the British consul," Alexander says, "put himself at the head of this faction, and from that time on persistently labored to embarrass the native government, and finally to overthrow its independence. He even denied the right of the native chiefs to make laws or treaties without the approval of the British Government."

Several of the crew of the ship *Daniel*, Captain Buckle, two days after that vessel's arrival on October 3 at Lahaina from London, entered the house of Rev. William Richards and threatened to kill him and his wife if the restrictive law were not repealed. No violence other than the audacious intrusion seems to have been done, but a larger party with knives and pistols came ashore on the 7th, under a black flag, and broke into the mission yard. They were driven away by the natives and Hoapili had an armed guard kept on the premises from thence until the *Daniel* sailed. A United States **war** vessel was the next vehicle of outrage. This was the schooner *Dolphin*, commanded by Lieutenant

John Percival, which arrived January 23, 1826, from the Marshall Islands and, after a trip to Lanai to save the cargo of the American ship London wrecked there, returned to Honolulu on February 22. Lieutenant Percival called on the queen regent and threatened violence if the laws against vice were not forthwith repealed. He boasted that his vessel, though small, was like fire. Five days later the men from the Dolphin attacked the houses of Kalanimoku and Rev. Hiram Bingham, doing some damage before the natives repulsed them. The missionary had a narrow escape with his life. That same evening Lieutenant Percival, calling on the chiefs, succeeded by threats of violence in inducing Governor Boki and Manuia, the fort captain, to permit the violation of the law. The Dolphin stayed two months longer, her crew behaving in a manner disgracing to the United States naval service. A court of inquiry into Percival's conduct at Charleston, Mass., about two years later and lasting thirty-six days, found most of the charges against him to be true.

Another outrage by sailors was committed at Lahaina in October, 1826, when the crews of several whaleships landed there with threats to kill Mr. Richards and his family. These were absent at Kailua, Hawaii, and a strong guard of natives saved the mission house when the sailors went in a body to destroy it. Kekauonohi, acting as governor in Hoapili's absence, had conducted all the native women into hiding in the mountains. Foiled in their worst purposes the marauders broke into and looted the houses of the natives, keeping up the violence for several days before the vessels left for Oahu.

A year later the third and last outrage at Lahaina took place. In violation of the law some native women were on board the British whaler John Palmer, whose master was an American named Clarke. Governor Hoapili demanded that the women should be landed, but day after day had his authority ridiculed by Captain Clarke. At length the

captain was detained on shore, his boat being seized, but on his promising to return the women next morning was released. In the meantime the crew discharged five shots from a nine-pounder at the house of Mr. Richards, but without doing much damage. Clarke, dishonoring his word, sailed for Honolulu the following day with the women still prisoners aboard his vessel. Captain Buckle, leader in the first outrage, about this time returned to Honolulu. On hearing that his infamous conduct two years previous had been published in the United States, he with great fury started an agitation to take Mr. Richards' life. In the meantime some of the native chiefs had gone wrong, so that Boki and Manuia now joined Buckle's following. Kaahumanu, in view of the murderous threats, sent to Lahaina for Mr. Richards and the chiefs. A council was held at Honolulu, when the charges published by Mr. Richards were affirmed, and a decision to protect him at any cost was reached. To carry out this resolve heavy guns were mounted on the fort at Lahaina and the guard there was strengthened.

An important incident of the previous year, advancing the independence of the Hawaiians and vindicating the character of the missionaries, was the mission of the United States sloop Peacock to the islands. Shipowners of Nantucket had repeatedly memorialized the President of the United States, complaining of mutinies and desertions of crews, and expressing a fear that the "Sandwich Islands," as the name ran then, "would become a nest of pirates and murderers." Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, commanding the Peacock, was therefore sent to the islands to deal with the complaints of the shipowners, also to procure a satisfactory settlement of certain debts alleged as due to certain American citizens by the native government. Arriving in October, 1826, Captain Jones remained three months. His first service was the deportation of about thirty runaway sailors. Then he investigated the claims of American traders against the king and chiefs, those

which he passed amounting to about half a million dollars. This was a vast debt for the little country just emerged from barbarism with a population then estimated at 140,000. Provision for payment was shaped into a decree of December 27, requiring that, prior to September 1, 1827, every able-bodied male subject should deliver half a picul of sandalwood or pay four Spanish dollars, and every woman of age deliver a mat twelve by six feet or pay one dollar—the whole of the tribute to be applied to the payment of the American claims.

Mr. Charlton, the British consul, had his machinations signally checked on the occasion of a general council of chiefs which the queen regent convoked in December, 1826. He having declared before the assembly that the Hawaiians were subjects of Great Britain and had no right to make treaties, Captain Jones replied that the independence of the islands was recognized in the consul's own commission, and, forthwith, the council assented to the terms of a commercial treaty with the United States and the first one the country ever had with a foreign nation. Mr. Charlton had a few days previously met with a setback that ought to have given him caution. At a public meeting held in Governor Boki's house to consider a challenge for investigation of their course which the missionaries, at a meeting in Kailua, had formulated two months previously, the consul is found heading their accusers. Captain Jones presided. When the case of the missionaries, in the form of a circular letter, had been read, their opponents were asked to prefer charges in writing and produce corroborative evidence thereof. The challenged party refused to do so and the meeting adjourned without day. Alexander quotes Captain Jones as afterward writing that "not one jot or tittle, not one iota, derogatory to their characters as men, or as ministers of the gospel of the strictest order, could be made to appear against the missionaries by the united efforts of all who conspired against them."

It is related that the cause of reform lost a champion in the death of Kalanimoku, the prime minister, which occurred at Kailua on February 8, 1827. His younger brother Boki, governor of Oahu, a year or two after returning from England, along with his wife Liliha "relapsed into intemperance, ran into debt and squandered much of the sandalwood which had been collected for extinguishing the debts of the late king. He was led by designing foreigners to intrigue against the queen regent, and to lead the young king into habits of dissipation." (Alexander.)

Persecution of the missionaries by haters of religion for its restraints on self-indulgence has been told about. There is next to be related the story of persecution in the name of religion—that of Roman Catholic missionaries waged by the chiefs for several years to protect the faith delivered to them by the Protestant missionaries. According to the evidences, the Protestant missionaries were not only innocent of instigating the harsh policy of repression, but opposed it throughout. So as to make the narrative connected, it is expedient here to sketch some contemporary events apart. Thereby the characters and their positions in the drama will be understood better.

SOME NATIVE DISTURBERS.

Governor Boki of Oahu, pursuing the dissolute course whereon he embarked after returning from England, set up a tavern in Honolulu and leased for a distillery a building that Kalanimoku had erected for a sugar-house, at the same time obtaining a lease of land in Manoa valley to supply sugar-cane for the distillery. Kaahumanu canceled the lease of land and had the ground cultivated in potatoes. With the purpose of usurping the regency, Boki plotted against Kaahumanu, trying to detach the young king from her. He was abetted in his schemes by the American and British consuls. The governor collected a force at

Waikiki. He was dissuaded from his mad design of war by Kekuanaoa, who bravely went alone into the rebel camp to present his remonstrances.

After the promulgation of the first printed laws against various crimes in 1827, Charlton and others questioned the expediency of some of them through a memorial. Kaahumanu's reply was a proclamation that the laws would be enforced equally upon foreigners and natives. In October, 1829, the United States ship Vincennes, Captain Finch, arrived, bringing presents to the king and the leading chiefs, also a letter from the Secretary of the Navy congratulating them on their "rapid progress in acquiring a knowledge of letters and of the true religion." It also approved their course in punishing Americans guilty of offenses. Captain Finch attended a conference, at which the chiefs admitted debts of about \$50,000 to different merchants and shipmasters. They gave a note at nine months for payment in 4,700 piculs of sandalwood.

Boki went impetuously to a mysterious doom. He listened to an adventurer from Australia, who offered to guide an expedition to an island in the South Pacific where sandalwood abounded. Boki fitted out the king's brig Kamehameha for himself and the Becket for Manuia. Three hundred men were taken in the Kamehameha and 179 in the Becket to serve as wood-cutters. It happened that these large gangs comprised nearly all of Boki's followers in opposition to the regent's government. Sailing from Honolulu on December 2, 1829, the expedition touched at the island of Rotuma in the South Seas. There Boki took on many natives of the island and sailed four days later. He was never heard of again. The Becket stayed ten days longer and proceeded to Erromanga, whose natives were found to be hostile. Sickness broke out on board and among those dying was Manuia. On the way back twenty of the sick were left at Rotuma. When the Becket reached

Honolulu on August 3, 1830, she had on board but twenty survivors, of whom eight were foreigners.

Kaahumanu, on a visit to Hawaii in 1829, had the bones of twenty-four chiefs removed from a mausoleum at Honaunau and entombed in coffins in a secret cave at Kaawaloa, at the same time having the sacred house of sepulture demolished, as a preventive of superstitious reaction. The following spring Kaahumanu, accompanied by the young king and Hoapili, made a tour of the islands to windward of Oahu. She left Liliha and Kinau in joint charge of affairs at Honolulu for nine months. Liliha was not long in betraying the trust on her part. After the return of the Becket she prepared for war. Buying arms and ammunition, she also filled the fort with her armed partisans from Waianae. Kinau got word to an assembly of chiefs at Lahaina that Liliha was plotting to detach the king from the regent and overthrow the government. Hoapili was sent to use his influence with his daughter. Landing with neither force nor weapons, he induced Liliha to surrender the fort. The infatuated woman and her captain, Paki, went to Lahaina. Hoapili installed a new garrison in the fort and kept things quiet until the return of the regent in March, 1831.

Kuakini, a brother of Kaahumanu, was appointed governor of Oahu at a council on April 1, 1831. Naihe, who was made governor of Hawaii at the same council, died on December 29 following and Kuakini then returned to that island and resumed its governorship. After a last visit to Kapiolani, from which she returned in frail condition, Kaahumanu died in Manoa valley on June 5, 1832. Prior to her end the great patroness of the Christian religion in Hawaii had the satisfaction of receiving the first complete copy of the New Testament printed in the Hawaiian language. Upon the roll of the world's greatest women the name of Kaahumanu, the Hawaiian chiefess, deserves to be written high. What errors she may have committed were out of

a pure conscience, and she led her country onward and upward in civilization, withal preserving its peace and unity, during one of its most precarious periods.

Kinau had been appointed by Kaahumanu, in council of chiefs, as her successor in the premiership with the title of Kaahumanu II. She was recognized by the king in a joint declaration of theirs on July 5, 1832, yet her position, as will be seen, was not yet secure. Kinau was a daughter of Kamehameha I. and Kalakua, therefore a half-sister of the king. She was the wife of Kekuanaoa, a chief of eminent ability, though not of highest rank. After the death of Kaahumanu, Liliha and Charlton gained more control than ever of the king. They met their match, however, in the new premier. His majesty wanted to buy a brig offered to him for \$12,000, but Kinau and the council refused assent because it would add to the burdens of the people, already too heavy. The king gave in, but he felt sore at the refusal of the toy. Among the king's boon companions—forming a gang known as Hulumanu ("bird feathers")—was a renegade teacher of Tahitian descent named Kaomi. This character had so much influence over the nascent sovereign that he was called "the engrafted king." He actually usurped the authority of Kinau, treated her with insolence and refused her permission to enter the king's presence. Kaomi gave out that all laws except those against murder, theft and rioting, were abrogated. Under this rowdy's regime distilleries and drinking places were multiplied, and heathen dances and revels were encouraged. The king's foster father, Hoapili, tried without success to reclaim the scapegrace so soon to assume full sovereignty.

In the middle of March, 1833, Kauikeaouli announced to his chiefs his intention "to take into his possession the lands for which his father had toiled, the power of life and death and the undivided sovereignty." To this purpose he summoned a public meeting. It was suspected

that he would set aside Kinau and appoint either Liliha or Kaomi as premier. Civil war might easily ensue. Kinau opportunely proved her metal. "We cannot war with the word of God between us," was the speech with which she saluted her brother when she appeared in the assembly. Kamehameha III. delivered his inaugural address, proclaiming his accession to full sovereignty. Then he raised his hand to appoint the second in authority and solemnly confirmed Kinau as premier. Notwithstanding the powerful influence of his action in restoring confidence among the better elements of the kingdom, there was a reaction that did not spend itself for a year. "During that period," as Alexander records, "schools were deserted, congregations thinned and in a few places there was a partial revival of heathen practices." Most of the high chiefs, however, including the governors of the other islands, maintained a firm stand for law and order, and to the year of trouble an era of general improvement in conditions succeeded.

Kamehameha III. adopted as his heir Alexander Liholiho, Kinau's third son, born February 9, 1834. In March following the accession Hoapili destroyed all of the distilleries on Oahu. Kaomi became neglected and, after lying for some time in a hut at Lahaina, died aboard a schooner in which he had sailed for Honolulu.

In 1834 the British man-of-war *Challenger*, Captain Seymour, arrived at Honolulu to demand the execution of two Hawaiian sailors who had murdered Captain Carter on the voyage of the vessel *William Little* from California. They took the vessel to Fanning's Island and scuttled her there. The men were arrested and hung at the yardarm of the king's brig *Niu*. Captain Seymour thanked Kinau for her assistance in this unpleasant business. In September, 1836, the U. S. ships *Peacock*, Commodore Kennedy, and *Enterprise*, Captain Hollins, arrived at Honolulu. Commodore Kennedy conferred with the chiefs about land titles and the claims of traders, but the only result appears

to have been the acknowledgment of an old claim for \$60,000 and another for a small amount.

On February 2, 1837, the king married Kalama, the daughter of Kapihe, a chief of low rank. The Government bought the bark *Don Quixote* for the Hawaiian navy, armed her with 14 guns and renamed her the *Kai*. Princess Harieta Nahienaena, the king's sister, died at the age of 21 years on December 30, 1836. She had been married the previous year to Leleiohoku, son of Kalanimoku. The king took her remains to Lahaina the following April in the *Kai*, accompanied by an escort of eight schooners, and the princess was buried alongside her mother, Keopuolani. A funeral of unusual pomp had been held in Honolulu two months previously.

PERSECUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

By the ship *Comet* from Bordeaux, arriving at Honolulu on July 7, 1827, there came to Honolulu two Roman Catholic priests named Alexis Bachelot and Patrick Short. Another, M. Armand, had died on the voyage. Some lay brothers arrived with the two priests. The vessel had come by way of Valparaiso, Callao and Mazatlan, having started on her voyage on November 26, 1826. Pope Leo XII. in September, 1825, had designated the Hawaiian Islands as a field of missionary work for the "Congregations of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary" known as the Picpusian order from Picpus street, Paris, wherein the directors of the society were established. In the *Comet* a cargo of goods, bought on credit by Jean Rives, was shipped together with church ornaments to the value of some thousands of dollars. Rives sailed in the ship *Le Heros* to the western coast of America and died in Mexico in 1833. Captain Plassard of the *Comet* could not sell his cargo, but he landed his passengers at Honolulu without a permit. He

left them ashore when he sailed, disregarding an order served on him to take them away.

Services were held by the priests a few days after arrival, and early the following year a small chapel was opened. Governor Boki and Consul Charlton showed some favor to the priests. Kaahumanu, however, by an order required Boki in August, 1829, to publish a decree forbidding the natives to attend Roman Catholic worship. On her return from a trip to Kauai the following year, Kaahumanu observed that the new religion was making progress. Therefore she ordered the priests to stop propagating their faith among the natives. It was decreed that the natives must give up their crucifixes, the regent threatening with punishment all who used them in their devotions. Louisa, a native retainer, would have been banished to Kahoolawe for this offense but for the intercession of Mr. Richards, a Protestant missionary. Kinau, in the regent's absence, punished several persons for Catholicism by placing them at hard labor, the men in building a stone wall and the women in braiding mats. Kaahumanu on returning continued the same policy, even putting some offenders in irons. An old print in the Honolulu library shows a Catholic girl convert bound to a tree.

On April 2, 1831, the high chiefs passed an order for the departure of the priests within three months. Though this was twice repeated the priests stayed on. The Prussian ship *Princess Louisa*, arriving in July, brought presents from the king of Prussia to Kamehameha III., but the commander, Captain Wendt, refused to take the priests away unless he were paid \$5,000. Ultimately the chiefs fitted out the brig *Waverley* for deportation of the priests, issuing a proclamation relative thereto on December 7, 1831. Fathers Bachelot and Short sailed on the 24th, landing at San Pedro, California, where they were gladly received by

the Franciscan fathers, whose prefect had previously asked them to come to their assistance. The lay brothers remained at Honolulu.

Kaahumanu, when remonstrated with by Mr. Bingham, a Protestant missionary, for making Catholic converts work on the stone wall, argued that the Catholics used images in their worship and, since the religious wars of six and ten years previous, such worship was sedition. It appears that the persecution was confined to Honolulu. Several of the missionaries remonstrated with the chiefs against the infliction of punishment on account of religious opinions. Kinau, on her accession to the premiership, carried out the policy of her predecessor. Commodore Downes and officers of the U. S. frigate *Potomac*, that arrived from the East Indies on July 23, 1832, strongly represented to the chiefs the injustice and folly of punishing men for their views of religion. The remonstrance of the visitors caused the liberation of the religious convicts working on the stone wall and for some years the persecution was suspended.

Kamehameha III., after attaining his majority, continued to assert the right claimed for the king, by the chiefs, of refusing permission for entering the kingdom to any foreigner who might be obnoxious to him. The chiefs denied any intention of interfering with the foreigners in their religion, but insisted on the right to forbid their propagating of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1835 the Pope sent a brief to the two Hawaiian-banished priests in California to persevere in their demand for the right to establish a mission in the Hawaiian Islands. On September 30 Rev. Robert Walsh, an Irish priest educated in Paris, arrived at Honolulu in the vessel *Garafilia* from Valparaiso. He was ordered to leave. The British consul gained permission for him to remain until the arrival of the British sloop-of-war *Acteon*, commanded by Lord Edward Russell. On October 8 the French corvette *Bonite*, *Le Vaillant* commander, arrived from Guayaquil. *Le Vaillant* secured

permission for Father Walsh to remain in the islands on condition that he would not propagate his religion among the natives. Lord Russell, arriving on October 23, negotiated an agreement, which was signed on November 16, giving British subjects the right to land, reside and build houses in the islands, with the king's consent.

Fathers Bachelot and Short returned to the islands on April 17, 1837, coming in the ship *Clementine*, owned by Jules Dudoit of Honolulu and flying the British flag. The king and Kinau were absent. Governor Kekuanaoa ordered the captain and the owner of the vessel to receive the priests on board again, which both of them refused to do. On the 19th the governor delivered an order to the priests to return to California in the vessel that brought them. This action was approved by the king and the premier when it was reported to them. The order was carried into effect on May 20, the priests being put aboard ship without violence. Dudoit ordered the crew ashore and, hauling down the British ensign, carried it to the consul and burned it upon the street. Then he made a protest before the consul, declaring the *Clementine* as having been seized by the Hawaiian Government and claiming damages of \$50,000. A claim was also made by the American consul for W. French, who had chartered the vessel on May 10 for another voyage. Kinau had provisions sent aboard for the marooned priests. There had arrived on May 7 the British sloop-of-war *Sulphur*, Captain Edward Belcher, from San Blas, and on the 10th the French frigate *Venus*, Captain Du Petit Thouars, from Callao. There was a conference of the two commanders, the American and British consuls and others with Kinau. It was a warm one. Captain Belcher so far disregarded the "conduct becoming an officer and a gentleman" as to shake his fist in the distinguished lady's face. Charlton skipped about in high dudgeon and, returning from a run outside, said that the harbor was under blockade. All vessels except the *Clementine* were forbidden to

leave. If Kinau's vessel ventured to sail it would be fired upon. Should she desire to write a message to the king a messenger would go in the British vessel with her letter. Kinau bravely took the course of duty and her vessel sailed without interference. Marines from the Sulphur landed the priests from the Clementine and they were escorted to their former residences by the British and French commanders. The British flag was hoisted on the Clementine and she was sent to Lahaina for the king, who, however, returned in his own war vessel Kai accompanied by a flotilla of schooners. A long audience was given by the king to the two commanders the next day. Both of them admitted his right under the law of nations to exclude foreigners objectionable to him, but nevertheless condemned his intolerant course. At this conference Mr. Bingham was insulted and threatened by an officer, and was protected from physical violence by the chiefs. Captain Thouars signed a pledge that Father Bachelot would take the first chance to go to Lima, Valparaiso or some other port of the civilized world and that in the meantime he should not preach. Captain Belcher made a similar undertaking for Father Short. The king on his part engaged that the two priests might reside unmolestedly at Honolulu until such opportunities for their departure should occur. At another conference Captain Thouars arranged a convention granting to the French equal advantages with the subjects of the most favored nation. The vessels sailed on the 24th without saluting the fort.

The British frigate Imogene, Captain Bruce, arrived on September 24, 1837, and stayed until October 12. Captain Bruce had four friendly conferences with the king, at which he recommended toleration but recognized the king's rights as an independent sovereign. He was thanked in a letter by the chiefs for his courtesy and advice. Captain Bruce took a petition from them to the British Government for the removal of Charlton. He offered Fathers Bachelot and Short a free

passage away. Father Short sailed in the ship *Peru* on October 30.

A fresh complication arrived with the ship *Europa*, Captain Shaw, on November 2. This vessel brought the pro-vicar apostolic, Rev. L. D. Maigret, and J. C. Murphy (Brother Columban), a catechist. They had given the owner a bond that they would not land in the islands without a permit. On their arrival Kinau had Captain Shaw bound in \$10,000 not to allow the unpermitted landing of the priests. Three Chilian refugees were allowed to land. In correspondence Monsignor Maigret stated that his purpose was to go to the Marquesas Islands. The Government refused him permission to land without a bond from Mr. Dudoit conditioned on his departure within a definite time. Mr. Murphy was allowed to land on a certificate of the British consul that he was not a priest. He afterward left for Tahiti. Monsignor Maigret bought the vessel *Honolulu* for \$3,000 and on November 23 sailed for Micronesia. Father Bachelot went with him and died at sea on December 4 and was buried on the island of Bonabe. Monsignor Maigret remained for a brief period on that island, departing thence for the Gambier Islands.

On the 18th of December, 1837, the king and chiefs promulgated a drastic ordinance which prohibited the teaching of the Catholic religion, or the landing of any teacher thereof except in case of necessity. From the latter part of 1835 for three years the persecution of the Catholics was severe. Not only was the penalty of hard labor inflicted, but such debasing servitude as the scavenging work at the fort—the common prison and penitentiary of the time—was imposed upon the victims. Remonstrances by foreign visitors and Protestant missionaries were equally ineffective to change the policy. The simple fact was that the appearance within a short period of seemingly two kinds of worship of one God was to the simple rulers of Hawaii most bewildering and distracting. Kinau, replying to a letter from Captain Eliot of

the British sloop-of-war *Sly* on the subject, asked: "What shall we do? Shall we return to idolatry and the shedding of blood?"

"At last better counsels prevailed," Alexander writes, "and mainly through the influence of Mr. Richards, the king was induced to issue an edict of toleration, June 17, 1839, which ordered that all who were then in confinement should be released, and that no more punishment should be inflicted on account of religion. The following week two women were found to be confined in the fort in irons, but were promptly released by order of Kekuanaoa, as soon as he was informed of it. This seems to have been the last case of religious persecution in the islands."

FRENCH AGGRESSIONS.

The consequences to the native government were, however, for a long time deplorable. On July 9, 1839, the French 60-gun frigate *Artemise*, Captain Laplace, arrived. Instructions had been received at Sydney to proceed to Honolulu from Tahiti.

France at the time was actively pursuing an extensive colonial policy. Captain Laplace abruptly on arrival, without taking the trouble to investigate the situation at Honolulu, issued a manifesto.

The king of France, the document set forth, had commanded him to come to Honolulu and stop the ill-treatment of the French people at the Sandwich Islands. Having instructions to use either force or persuasion, he chose the latter as more in harmony with the magnanimous policy of France toward the helpless. If the chiefs had not been "misled by perfidious counselors," they would have known that there was not in the world a power able to prevent France from punishing her enemies. To tarnish the Catholic religion with the name of idolatry, and under that pretext to expel the French from the group, was to insult France and her sovereign. There was no civilized country that did

not permit in its territory the free exercise of all religions. Consequently he demanded:

1. That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout the islands.
2. That a site for a Catholic church at Honolulu be granted.
3. That all Catholics imprisoned for their religion be immediately liberated.
4. That the king deposit with the captain of the *Artemise* twenty thousand dollars as a guarantee of his future conduct toward France, the money to be restored when satisfactory assurance was given that an accompanying treaty would be faithfully observed.

If the treaty were rejected, war should immediately ensue. In such dire event the king and chiefs would have to bear the responsibility for all the calamitous results, as well as pay the damages that foreigners injured thereby would have a right to reclaim.

Dispatches to the king, absent at Lahaina, were sent requesting his presence. Meantime the king's secretary, Haalilio, was detained aboard the frigate as a hostage, and Honolulu harbor declared to be in a state of blockade. In notifying the American and British consuls of his intention to begin hostilities at noon of the 12th—or three days after his arrival—Captain Laplace offered protection on board the *Artemise* to any of their countrymen desiring it, but made an exception of the American Protestant missionaries as persons directing the counsels of the king and “the true authors of the insults to France.” These would be treated as part of the native population and have to suffer the consequences of the war that they had provoked.

In reply to an inquiry of the missionaries whether the United States Government would protect their lives and properties, the American consul guaranteed them an asylum under the flag within the inclosure of the consulate. A postponement of hostilities was granted to the premier, Kekauluohi, until the following Monday to give the king time to arrive. As he had not returned on Saturday afternoon, Kekua-

naoa delivered to Captain Laplace on board the frigate before night the treaty and the cash guarantee demanded. The treaty was executed on behalf of the king by the governor and the premier, while the \$20,000 had partly been borrowed from some of the foreign merchants. Sunday morning at nine o'clock the king arrived, soon after which Captain Laplace, escorted by 150 men with fixed bayonets, together with a band of music, paraded to a building owned by the king, where Rev. R. Walsh celebrated a military mass.

Evidently compliance with his demands came easier than he expected, for Captain Laplace on the 16th had another ultimatum to offer. At 5 p. m. of that day he presented to the king an additional convention, demanding that it be signed without any amendment by breakfast time next morning. Time to consult with his chiefs, requested by the king, was peremptorily denied. The instrument was signed. Among its stipulations was one that no Frenchman should be tried for any crime except by a jury of foreigners nominated by the French consul. Another was that French merchandise, especially wine or brandy, should not be prohibited, nor pay a higher duty than five per cent. *ad valorem*. On the 20th the *Artemise* departed.

Notwithstanding the policy of religious toleration for some years the French consul continued to worry the government. At the time the Catholic mission was making notable progress. In May, 1840, M. Etienne Rouchouse, Bishop of Nilopolis and vicar apostolic, together with Rev. L. D. Maigret and two other priests, arrived in the *Clementine* from Valparaiso. The following July witnessed the starting of the erection of a cathedral. Returning to France the next year, the bishop sailed thence in the ship *Joseph and Mary*, with seven priests, seven catechists, nine lay brothers and ten nuns. As cargo the vessel carried goods for the mission and a goodly stock of silver crosses, chalices and church ornaments. Sadly enough, the ship foundered off

Cape Horn and all on board perished. M. Maigret was appointed successor of the ill-fated prelate, with the titles of Bishop of Arathia and Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Polynesia. Carplings at the school and the marriage laws of the country, together with objections to the restrictions on the spirit traffic, mainly constituted the disturbing course of the French consul. Such a terror of France prevailed that the liquor license law was not enforced for some years. To the support of the consul's machinations came Captain Mallet in the corvette *Embuscade* on August 24, 1842, the surly nature of the visit being manifested by the omission of the usual salutes on the arrival of the vessel. Captain Mallet told Governor Kekuanaoa that France had taken the Marquesas Islands in July and that his government had sent him to Honolulu to investigate complaints of violation of the Laplace convention. Writing to the king, he complained of insults and unjust measures to which he said French citizens and Catholic clergymen had been subjected, but of which he insinuated that the king had not been informed by his counselors. Eight demands were made in the letter, mostly pertaining to educational affairs, such as requiring that Catholic schools should be exclusively supervised by agents of that faith, nominated by its priests and approved by the king, and that land should be granted for a Catholic high school. It was also intimated that the license law violated the Laplace convention in restricting the sale of French liquors. A courteous reply in dignified terms was returned by the king. His Majesty refused to concede invidious sectarian favors in the administration of the school laws. If there had been abuses the courts of law were open for redress. Only the retailing of liquor was affected by the license law and licenses could be obtained from the proper officers without discrimination against any nationality. Finally, the king wrote, an embassy had been sent to France to negotiate a new treaty. Answering the king's letter Cap-

tain Mallet said he would deliver it to Admiral Du Petit Thouars, from whom a visit might be expected the ensuing spring.

To preserve continuity of the story of French annoyance, it is necessary here to defer the account of troubles with Great Britain, including a temporary cession of the islands to that nation. It must be mentioned, however, that this episode led to a joint recognition by Great Britain and France, following like action by the United States, of the independence of the Hawaiian Islands. This was in 1843. From thence until 1848 "scarcely a complaint was made," according to Alexander, who quotes the Bishop of Arathia as saying on behalf of his countrymen: "We esteem ourselves happy as living under a government that so well understands the liberty of conscience." Such a pleasant state of affairs is attributed by the same authority largely "to the ability, tact and courtesy shown by the French consul, M. Dudoit."

Rear Admiral Hamelin, arriving March 22, 1846, in the French frigate *Virginie*, made restitution of the \$20,000 exacted from the government by Laplace nearly seven years previously. With him came Em. Perrin, as special commissioner of the king of France, bringing treaties to replace all former conventions with Hawaii by Great Britain and France, these nations having agreed upon the forms of the instruments to make them identical in terms for both of them. As they had to be taken as they stood, the king signed them on March 26. He, however, sent to both governments a remonstrance against two of the articles—one stipulating that no British or French subject should be tried for any offense other than by a jury his nation's consul should nominate, and the other making five per cent. the maximum duty that should be charged upon imports of merchandise other than wines and liquors—these to be liable to "any reasonable duty" short of being prohibitive.

After two years of trouble with the American and British consuls, an account of which will be given further on, fresh complications with

France arose. Patrick Dillon arrived on February 1, 1848, in the French corvette *Sarcelle*, as consul of France commissioned to exchange ratifications of the treaty of 1846. A fortnight after coming he presented Kamehameha III. with a full-length portrait of King Louis Philippe, delivering the gift with state ceremony and friendliest assurances. Soon, however, Mr. Dillon quarreled both with his predecessor and the secretary of state (Mr. Wyllie), reviving old and creating new grievances. Especially was he fierce about the high duty on brandy and the invidious preference, as he deemed it, shown for the English language. In April, 1849, Dillon's grievances were referred directly to the French government, his recall at the same time being requested. On his part the consul wrote to the French admiral for armed support of his demands. Accordingly, on August 12 and 13 respectively, there arrived the French frigate *Poursuivante*, Admiral de Tromelin, and the corvette *Gassendi*. Ten days after his arrival the admiral sent the king ten peremptory demands, of Dillon's authorship. The demands covered the old religious grievances, together with some new ones. They required a reduction of the brandy duty to 50 per cent. *ad valorem*, also the remission of custom house fees paid by French whalers and certain penalties imposed upon French vessels. The use by the government of the French language in business intercourse with subjects of France was another requirement. As the last demand, indemnity was asked for a French hotel-keeper whose place had been damaged by sailors from a British man-of-war. Three days were allowed for a reply, with a threat of violence if the demands were not granted. Before the limit had expired an answer by the government was returned. Firmly, though courteously, the grievances were shown to have no foundation. The treaty had been faithfully observed. Under the brandy tariff imports of the French article had greatly increased. Rigorous equality in matters of religion was observed by the government. Public schools maintained from govern-

ment revenues could be placed under the direction of neither the Protestant nor the Catholic mission—this in reply to a demand for Catholic control and inspection of schools of that faith. A penalty upon the ship *General Teste* for violating the harbor laws had already been reduced from \$500 to \$25. As to the last three demands—for the punishment of boys whose misconduct in church had disturbed worship, for the removal of the governor of Hawaii for permitting an arrest in a priest's house and for indemnifying the hotel-keeper already mentioned—the admiral was referred to the open courts of the kingdom, with the intimation that only when justice had been there denied could diplomatic interference be justified. An offer was made, moreover, to refer disputes to the mediation of a neutral power. Finally, the admiral was told that no resistance to his force would be offered, but that the persons and property of French residents would be protected.

In the afternoon of the day the answer was given, Admiral Tromelin landed a force equipped with field pieces and scaling ladders. The Frenchmen encountered no opposition, marching into a deserted fort. They never hauled down the Hawaiian flag which was flying over it. Besides the fort the government buildings, seven merchant vessels and the king's yacht were seized. For ten days the occupation continued. Inter-island shipping was embargoed. Vessels arriving were anchored under the *Gassendi's* guns. None were allowed to depart. At the instance of the admiral, on the fourth day of the occupation, a conference was held on board the *Gassendi* between himself and Dillon on the one side and two commissioners (Judd and Lee) representing the king on the other side, but no agreement was reached. While the conference sat the naval force was smashing things. Within the fort the guns were put out of possible service, while the magazine's contents of powder were cast into the sea. In the governor's house the furniture, utensils and ornaments were mingled in a common wreck.

Admiral Tromelin on August 30, by formal proclamation, declared that the fort had been dismantled and the royal yacht confiscated, by way of reprisals, but that restitution would be made of private property destroyed. He further proclaimed the treaty of 1846 to be replaced by the Laplace convention of 1839. A protest against his proceedings was made by the American and British consuls, and his annulment of the treaty was disavowed by his own government. The captured royal yacht, named after the king, was dispatched for Tahiti on September 4. Next day the invading warships sailed, the *Gassendi* for home by way of Valparaiso and the *Poursuivante* for San Francisco. Dillon with his family left in the admiral's vessel. He was afterward made consul-general of France in San Francisco, but meantime he had gone to Paris. There he was able to defeat the efforts of Dr. Judd to negotiate a new treaty.

In the latter part of 1850 M. Perrin arrived at Honolulu in the corvette *Serieuse*, coming again as commissioner of France. Resuming the former tactics of annoying the government, he presented after a month the same ten demands that Admiral Tromelin had failed to enforce. Payment in the meantime of the last claim—that of the hotel-keeper—was curiously ignored. When a month had been wasted in discussion of the demands, the king and privy council adopted a proclamation whereby the Hawaiian Islands were placed under the protection of the United States, until their relations with France should be placed “upon a footing compatible with the king's rights as an independent sovereign, and with his treaty engagements with other nations,” or, if this end should prove impracticable, the protectorate would be a perpetual one. This proclamation was signed by the king and premier on March 10, 1851, and forthwith communicated to Great Britain and the United States. The action caused a remarkable change in Perrin's course. His demands were reduced to a couple of points—and nothing

in either of them. One of these related to the liberty of Catholic worship, already many years secured, and the other to the trade in spirits, a matter wherein the dictation of France was sheer impertinence. However, the government placated him by agreeing to a joint declaration of four moderate articles. A question of indemnity to the king was left for decision by the president of France. Two months later Perrin departed for Paris in quest of new instructions, not returning to Honolulu until January of 1853. "The ten demands" troubled Hawaii nevermore.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

At the request of the Hawaiian Government, Mr. Jones was removed by the United States Government in 1838, and P. A. Brinsmade appointed consul in his stead. On March 20 of the same year, on the petition of shipmasters and natives, the king in council enacted a license law, and the liquor licenses were reduced from twelve to two thereunder. A law was passed in August following, whereby the importation of ardent spirits after January 1, 1839, was prohibited and a duty on wines of fifty cents a gallon imposed. An application to the United States in 1836 for an instructor in the science of government having had no result, the king and chiefs in 1838 selected Rev. William Richards to fill such an office. Being released from the American mission, the following year he began his political duties. He delivered lectures and assisted in drawing up a constitution and a code of laws. As minister of public instruction later, Mr. Richards was the father of the Hawaiian public school system of today. Between 1838 and 1840 a great religious revival took place, wherein fifteen or twenty thousand persons were added to the membership of the Protestant churches. Kinau died on April 4, 1839, and the king appointed Kekauluohi, a niece of Kamehameha I., as her successor in the premiership.

On October 19, 1839, the U. S. frigate Columbia, Commodore Read, and the ship John Adams, Captain Wyman, arrived at Honolulu, remaining until November 4. Dudoit and French's claims for damages, previously referred to, were settled before the commodore as arbitrator by the payment of \$3,000 to each claimant. For want of time Commodore Read declined to hold a court of inquiry for deciding

whether the American missionaries had lost their citizenship or been the instigators of persecution, but (as Alexander says in a footnote) "sixteen of the officers of the squadron signed a testimonial in their favor and ordered one thousand copies of a pamphlet containing an account of the affair of the Artemise and a vindication of the American missionaries to be printed."

The first draft of the Richards constitution was made in the Hawaiian language at Lahaina in 1839, graduates of Lahainaluna school assisting in the work. A revised bill of rights was signed by the king and promulgated on June 7, which is regarded as having been the Hawaiian magna charta. It established protection of the persons and property of all the people from any interference otherwise than by "express provision of the laws." Likewise it guaranteed full religious liberty by declaring, "All men of every religion shall be protected in worshipping Jehovah and serving Him according to their own understanding." (Note that it was more than a month after this liberal enactment when Captain Laplace came to make peremptory demands that included this very thing.) On October 8, 1840, the constitution was proclaimed. By it the offices of premier and of the four governors were continued and their functions defined. A legislature of fifteen hereditary nobles and seven elective representatives, sitting together in annual session, was created and given authority to appoint four judges who, together with the king and premier, constituted the supreme court of the kingdom. A revision and expansion of the laws was made, the collection being published in 1842. These laws made taxation uniform, abolishing all the old feudal taxes. Enforced labor was abrogated and most of the ancient restrictions on fishing were removed. School laws were first enacted in 1841. A treasury board was created in 1842, consisting of four members under the chairmanship of Dr. G. P. Judd of the American mission.

There was recently (1905) discovered in the Hawaiian archives the original draft of the first report of the educational department to the legislature of Hawaii. It was submitted to the legislature of 1846 by William Richards, minister of public instruction, and facts contained in it have, since its discovery, caused some revision of previously accepted historical dates. The first law ever printed here related to Honolulu harbor. It was published in 1825. Lord Byron, a cousin of the poet, helped to frame this law while visiting Honolulu as commander of the British cruiser *Blonde*. The first printed laws punishing crimes—murder, theft, etc.—came from the press in 1827. The first book of laws, a pamphlet containing a series of laws and the bill of rights, was issued in 1833. A constitution was adopted the following year.

The Royal boarding school—original of the present Royal (but quite democratic) public school—was mentioned by Mr. Richards as having been seven years old at the date of his report. He states that some of the pupils had learned to speak English better than they could speak Hawaiian. They were children of the chiefs.

The *Lama Hawaii* ("Light of Hawaii"), issued in 1833, was the first periodical the Hawaiian press ever produced. Previous to 1830, 148 different publications, aggregating 1,500,000 pages, appeared, which increased by the end of 1846 to 13,603 publications and 63,944,000 pages.

The printing of the scriptures began in 1827 and an edition of 10,000 of the New Testament was completed in 1832. The entire Bible was in the hands of the people in 1839. By the time of the report 20,000 copies of the Bible and 30,000 of the New Testament had been issued. The first arithmetic was printed in 1827. A print of rude outlines of the earth and the motions of the heavenly bodies came out in 1828.

For the year reported on (1845-6) the school expenditure was about \$20,000, which by money owing would be brought up to \$30,000.

In 1831 the average age in the lowest class attending school was not much under 30 years. In 1832 the number of "readers" was placed at 23,123. Attendance at Protestant schools was estimated by Mr. Richards as follows: Hawaii, 6,319; Maui, 4,897; Oahu, 2,974; Kauai, 1,203; total, 15,393. Bishop Maigret reported for Catholic schools 1,800 ordinates, 1,000 readers and 600 enrolled but not attending, a total of 3,400. These added to the Protestant mission schools made an aggregate of 18,793 pupils. By 1846 seventy thousand of the natives had learned to read. Publications already mentioned made an average library for each reader of 9,349 pages, exclusive of the scriptures.

"That the laws were impartially carried out," Alexander says in a footnote, "was proved by the execution of the high chief Kamanawa, October 20, 1840, for poisoning his wife, Kamokuiki."

Early in the forties five of the chiefs who had accepted the Christian religion from the first American missionaries died, namely: Kinau, the premier, Governor Kaikioewa of Kauai, Governor Hoapili of Maui, his wife Kalakua Kaheiheimalie and Kapiolani. Of them all only Kinau left any children. In telling of the foundering of the schooner Keola on May 10, 1840, when most of those on board saved themselves by seizing floating debris and swimming about thirty miles to Kahoolawe, Professor Alexander gives the following account of a most heroic deed:

"Mauae of Lahaina and his noble wife, Kaluahinenua, swam together, each with an empty bucket for a support, until Monday afternoon, when his strength failed. His wife then took his arms around her neck, holding them with one hand and swimming with the other, until she found that he was dead, and was obliged to let him go in order to save her own life. After sunset she reached the shore, where she was found and taken care of by some fishermen, having been thirty hours in the sea."

An exploring expedition of some United States ships, under com-

mand of Commodore Wilkes, paid a visit to the islands lasting from September, 1840, until April, 1841. With the flagship Vincennes were the sloop Peacock, the brig Porpoise and the schooner Flying Fish. A corps of scientific observers formed part of the expedition, and enlisting a large retinue of native guides and helpers the party ascended Mauna Loa. There an observatory was erected, the party camping upon the snow-clad rocks for three weeks. Besides making surveys of the principal volcanic craters the scientists surveyed the important harbors of the group. (A party of which the present writer was a member, visiting a great eruption in the summit crater of Mauna Loa about ten years ago, came across some landmarks established by Commodore Wilkes.)

THE BRITISH SEIZURE OF HAWAII.

Mr. Charlton, the British consul, sprung a claim for land on the government in 1840. Under what purported to be a lease from Kalaimoku for two hundred and ninety-nine years, dated in 1826, but not brought to light until thirteen years after the death of Kalaimoku, he claimed a large block of land at the middle of the business section of Honolulu. The claim was denied by the king on unanswerable grounds, among them being the fact that Kalaimoku had no authority to convey the land. Two pieces of land had been given to the British government in 1826—one for a consulate and another for an official residence—and the piece Charlton now claimed was adjoining the consulate site. This claim, a little afterward, formed one of several pretexts upon which the cession of the Hawaiian Islands to Great Britain was forced. Mr. Brinsmade, the American consul, about the same time, managed to inveigle the government into complications that bore an important part in an approaching crisis. The outcome of this crisis was a recognition of the independence of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, Great Britain and France, which lasted for half a century. Mr. Brinsmade was a member of the firm of Ladd & Co., whose enterprise in starting sugar plantations gave it great influence and he and Mr. Richards, at Lahaina, on November 24, 1841, concluded a secret contract that carried a scheme of extensive development of the country's agricultural resources. It also held a piece of diplomacy, perhaps the most remarkable in its way, which has ever entered into international politics. This was a condition that the contract should be null and void if the independence of the kingdom were not acknowledged by Great Britain, France and the United

States. By the contract Ladd & Co. obtained the privilege of leasing any unoccupied and unimproved lands in the islands for one hundred years at a low rental. Fifteen acres of land in each locality was given for a mill site, and not to exceed two hundred acres of adjoining land for cultivation. Privileges of wood, pasturage, etc., were included. Time limits of one year for selection of the sites and five years for starting cultivation, later extended, respectively, to four and ten years, were set to the privileges. Mr. Brinsmade at once took his departure with the lease, intending to dispose of it to a joint stock company abroad. He also carried away letters from the king to the three powers, requesting a guarantee by them of the kingdom's independence. After visiting Washington he proceeded to Europe.

Sir George Simpson and Dr. McLaughlin, governors of the Hudson Bay Company, came to Honolulu on business in February, 1842. Taking an interest in the affairs of the islands, they made an investigation by which they were convinced that the native government had been unjustly accused of wrong-doing by their British fellow-countrymen. Sir George offered the government a loan of ten thousand pounds (\$50,000), and advised the king to send fully empowered commissioners to the United States and Europe, to negotiate new treaties and secure a guarantee of independence. Commissions of joint ministers plenipotentiary to three powers were issued to Sir George Simpson, William Richards and Haalilio, the king's secretary, on April 8. Sir George, going by way of Alaska and Siberia, reached England in November. Messrs. Richards and Haalilio, their business kept secret, took a chartered schooner for Mazatlan, on their way to the United States, on July 8. There was previously another diplomat out upon a similar mission. This was T. J. Farnham, a lawyer from Oregon, who was commissioned on March 17, 1840. He appears to have done considerable work in Washington and elsewhere, having made his headquarters in Boston

and engaged Benjamin F. Butler as counsel. Mr. Richards, who had the king's full power of attorney, canceled Mr. Farnham's commission, and among interesting diplomatic remains of the dismissed minister is a claim for salary and expense allowance. Arriving in Washington early in December, Messrs. Richards and Haalilio received from Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, an official letter dated December 19, 1842, recognizing the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom and declaring, "as the sense of the government of the United States, that the government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought to take possession of the islands, either as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing government, or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matters of commerce." Similiar expressions of the policy of the United States toward Hawaiian affairs were made by President Tyler in his message to Congress the same month, and by John Quincy Adams in the report of the committee on foreign relations.

All three of the ministers, meeting in London, had an interview on February 2, 1843, with the Earl of Aberdeen, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He declined to receive them as ministers from an independent state, or to negotiate a treaty with them, saying that the king did not govern, but was "exclusively under the influence of Americans, to the detriment of British interests." Lord Aberdeen would not admit, either, that full recognition of Hawaiian independence had yet been given by the United States. The envoys proceeded to Brussels, according to a previous understanding with Mr. Brinsmade. Leopold I received them very courteously and promised to use his influence on behalf of the recognition of Hawaiian independence. Then going to Paris the envoys were kindly received by M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who promptly engaged that France should recognize their country's independence, besides informing Lord Cowley, the British Am-

bassador, of his attitude. Having made such gratifying progress on the continent, the ministers returned to London. Sir George Simpson, in an interview with Lord Aberdeen, gave a true account of affairs at the islands and received a promise that Mr. Charlton would be removed. On April 1 Lord Aberdeen formally declared to the commissioners that Her Majesty's government had determined "to recognize the independence of the Sandwich Islands under their present sovereign." At the same time he insisted on the perfect equality of all foreigners in the islands before the law, adding that grave complaints had been received from British subjects of undue rigor exercised toward them, and improper partiality toward others in the administration of justice.

Sir George Simpson having left for Canada in April, Messrs. Richards and Haalilio returned to the continent to obtain the official recognition by France. Many things happened and more than seven months elapsed, however, before this end was gained. Mr. Brinsmade, with his contract, in the first place, inopportunately hampered their progress. They met him by appointment at Brussels, where a contract with the "Belgian Company of Colonization," of which the king of Belgium was a partner, was negotiated. It was signed on May 17, 1843, by the three parties. Ladd & Co. ceded to the company its property in the Hawaiian Islands, with its lease of 1841. The Hawaiian king, by Mr. Richards, guaranteed four per cent interest on the capital for six years, secured by a mortgage on the kingdom's revenues, besides making other concessions. The company was to organize a branch association under its own control, to be called "The Royal Community of the Sandwich Islands," to which all the property and benefits it received under the contract were to be transferred. In the new company the king of the Hawaiian Islands was to be a partner and Richards a director. Ladd & Co. were allotted 1,067,000 francs, the total capital being 4,000,000 francs, divided into 4,000 shares. It was stipulated that each emigrant

sent to the islands by the company was to receive nearly fifty acres of land in fee simple. There were 53 articles in the statutes of the association, which were signed on April 13, 1844, but never went into effect. Among the conditions of the contract was one that it should be ratified by the council general of the Belgian Company of Colonization within one month after the independence of the Hawaiian Islands had been officially acknowledged by France. There is no record of any such ratification ever having been given. Haalilio signed the contract with great reluctance, and the king and chiefs were highly displeased over its execution. This Belgian contract gave a great deal of trouble before it was finally discredited. While Brinsmade was making strenuous exertions to have it ratified in Belgium his firm (Ladd & Co.) failed in business. The government foreclosed on its property for dishonored loans and sold it for the benefit of its creditors. This was in 1844, and the following year the firm claimed the right of selecting lands under the original contract of 1841. The government resisted the claim, as Ladd & Co. had transferred its rights to the Belgian company. Brinsmade returned in 1846 and sued the government for \$378,000 damages, alleging that it had prevented the consummation of the Belgian contract. The defense was set up that the Belgian contract of 1843 was in contravention of the laws of the kingdom, inconsistent with existing treaties and liable in its operation to destroy the native race, besides involving the ruin of all foreign trade other than what the company would yield. It was agreed by the government, however, to refer the claim to the arbitration of J. F. B. Marshall and S. H. Williams, to whose inspection the public archives were offered. Ten Eyck, the United States commissioner, acted as counsel for Ladd & Co., and Mr. Ricord, Attorney General, for the government. Ladd & Co. withdrew from the trial when it had lasted four months and filled 613 printed pages, the government not yet having produced its evidence. Alexander adds that "other attempts

to effect a compromise failed and the question long remained unsettled, to divide and embroil the foreign community."

British aggression at the islands had in the meantime come to a head, the result being a short-lived British possession of the group. As soon as the nature of the mission of Richards and Haalilio became known after their departure, Charlton hurried after them to London to counteract their scheme. Leaving by way of Mexico on September 26, 1842, he sent back a threatening letter to the king, wherein he informed him that he had appointed Alexander Simpson as acting consul for Great Britain. The king refused to recognize Simpson, who, though a relative of the king's good friend, Sir George, was an avowed advocate of British annexation of the islands and, besides, had been insulting and threatening toward the governor of Oahu. Charlton told a tale of grievances to Lord George Paulet, commanding the British frigate *Carysfort*, whom he met at Mazatlan. He also sent dispatches to the northern coast, representing that British property and persons were in danger. Upon this information Rear Admiral Thomas ordered the *Carysfort* to Honolulu to make investigations. The *Carysfort* arrived at Honolulu on February 10, 1843. Lord George Paulet omitted the usual friendly salutes on entering the harbor and is said to have placed himself entirely under Simpson's direction. At Lord George Paulet's request the king came to Honolulu, arriving on the 16th. Refusing to treat with him through his agent, Dr. Judd, the British commander, late in the evening of the 17th, sent the king a letter containing six peremptory demands and threatening, in default of compliance therewith by 4 p. m. next day, that "immediate coercive steps would be taken." In substance, the demands were these:

1. Removal of an attachment on Charlton's property (which had been made at the suit of an English firm for an old debt); restoration of the land claimed by Charlton, with reparation to his representatives

for losses through alleged injustice. 2. Immediate recognition of Simpson as consul, with a salute of 21 guns to the British flag. 3. Guarantee that no British subject be placed in irons except for a felony. 4. New trial of the case of Skinner *vs.* Dominis. 5. All disputes between British subjects and others to be referred to mixed juries, one-half of them British subjects approved by the consul. 6. Direct communication between the king and the acting consul for immediate settlement of complaints of British subjects.

Next morning the Carysfort was cleared for action, with her guns bearing on the town. Refuge was found by some English families on board the brig Julia outside the harbor. Americans and other foreigners placed their funds and valuable papers on board the United States sloop-of-war Boston, under Captain Long, which had arrived three days after the Carysfort. Under wise counsel the king and chiefs abandoned a first impulse to offer resistance, and before the stated hour for hostilities they sent a letter to Lord Paulet submitting under protest. They told him of the special embassy sent to England to settle the same grievances as he alleged. Some of his demands, they informed him, were calculated seriously to embarrass that feeble government by contravening the laws established for the benefit of all. Nevertheless, the king would comply with them under protest and appeal for justice to the government of Great Britain. In addition to the letter of submission the king and premier issued a public and solemn protest against the British commander's proceedings, in which they appealed for redress to the justice and magnanimity of Queen Victoria. At 2 p. m. the fort and the frigate exchanged salutes, while the following Monday, or two days thereafter, was set for the reception of Simpson as the British consular representative. A public advertisement removed the attachment on Charlton's property. The king visited the Carysfort on the 20th, being received with royal honors. On this occasion a private interview

by Lord Paulet and Simpson with the king the following day was arranged. The meeting took place, also another on the 23d, when such outrageous corollaries were added to the original demands that the king indignantly balked. Besides maintaining an insolent bearing toward him, the British representatives refused him the opportunity of consulting with his advisers. Under such duress the king was constrained to sign the pretended deed from Kalaimoku to Charlton; also a note for \$3,000 to Henry Skinner, Charlton's nephew, for indirect damages from the attachment. It was shown that (through the arbitration of Sir George Simpson) the suit of Skinner *vs.* Dominis had been settled a year before, a receipt in full passing, but the fact made no impression upon the two dictators. When Simpson demanded the reversal of several decisions of the courts, besides presenting several fresh claims for damages until an aggregate of \$80,000 was reached, the king's patience departed. "I will not die piecemeal," he exclaimed; "they may cut off my head at once. Let them take what they please; I will give no more." On the advice of Dr. Judd, however, he averted the forcible seizure of the islands by offering a temporary cession, pending an appeal to the British government. An act of cession to France and the United States jointly, until these powers could mediate for the settlement of his difficulties, was drafted at the instance of leading foreign residents, but the king refused to sign it. Preliminaries were arranged the following day with Lord Paulet for the cession to Great Britain, and on the morning of February 25 the king and premier signed a provisional cession of the islands to Lord George Paulet, as representative of Her Britannic Majesty, it being made "subject to the decision of the British government after the receipt of full information by both parties." At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the king, standing upon the ramparts of the fort, read an address to the people of which the following is a translation:

"Where are you, chiefs, people and commons from my ancestors,

and people from foreign lands? Hear ye! I make known to you that I am in perplexity by reason of difficulties into which I have been brought without cause; therefore, I have given away the life of our land, hear ye! But my rule over you, my people, and your privileges will continue, for I have hope that the life of the land will be restored when my conduct shall be justified."

A public reading of the act of cession and a proclamation by Lord Paulet followed. Then the Hawaiian flag over the fort was lowered by natives, a lieutenant from the Carysfort hoisting the British flag in its place. Both the ship and the fort saluted the British colors and the consulate's flag at the same time came down. The day happened to be the forty-ninth anniversary of Kamehameha's cession to Vancouver. Lord Paulet's proclamation left the government of the natives to the king and chiefs, but placed all the affairs of foreigners in charge of a commission to consist of a deputy appointed by the king, Lord George Paulet, D. F. Mackay and Lieutenant Frere of the Carysfort. All existing laws and contracts were to remain in force. Having appointed Dr. Judd as their deputy, the king and premier, two days later, returned to Maui. The commission forthwith proceeded to make the islands a British colony indeed. It caused all the Hawaiian flags that could be found to be destroyed. Foreigners owning land were required to register their holdings with the commission before June 1, 1843. Vessels owned locally were put under British register and the government vessels were made tenders to the Carysfort. One per cent was added to the import duty of three per cent, to provide for the commission's expenses. Without recourse to any court Lord Paulet seized the land claimed by Charlton, ejecting 156 persons and demolishing 23 houses. One of the Carysfort's tenders, now called the *Albert*, was, on March 11, dispatched to San Blas, Mexico, to carry Alex. Simpson with letters to the British Foreign Office. Ladd & Co. having previously chartered the vessel, re-

served the right to send a commercial agent in her, and J. F. B. Marshall took passage as such with Simpson without arousing his suspicion. Yet he was secretly commissioned as the king's envoy, the king and premier having executed the documents in the seclusion of Waikiki. They had been landed there in a schooner by night, a canoe having been sent with a message for them, and having done the important business they immediately returned to Wailuku. On the 17th the Victoria sailed for Valparaiso with letters for Admiral Thomas. Under the pretext of information that the management of the prison within the fort was corrupt, the commission abrogated certain laws against licentiousness. They sent orders to the governors of the other islands, whereby all prisoners under arrest were set at liberty. A disgraceful condition of affairs resulted. Dr. Judd resigned as deputy, to deliver the king from all responsibility for the commission, and, Mackay having previously resigned on account of ill health, the commission was now left consisting only of Lord Paulet and Lieut. Frere. By means of canoes a secret correspondence between the king at Lahaina and his officers at Honolulu was maintained. While the inglorious rule of Lord Paulet was, unsuspected by him, drawing rapidly to a close a serious clash of authority occurred. The commission had enlisted a small standing army of natives, under the name of the "Queen's Regiment," who had to swear allegiance to the British sovereign and were commanded by British officers. It made a heavy drain on the treasury to support these troops, and the king sent directions to Dr. Judd to stop it altogether. Accordingly the treasurer refused to make any more payments for the army, and on June 20, or about a week later, the commissioners demanded of him \$713 for the "Queen's" guard and the police, threatening if he refused to install another person as treasurer. Again the king lost patience and showed his true metal. He and the premier, on the 24th, "published a manifesto, charging the commission with having broken

the terms agreed upon at the cession, by abrogating some of the laws and by draining the treasury for the support of a useless standing army." Dr. Judd removed the national archives from the government building and hid them in the royal mausoleum. Nightly for weeks he betook himself to that gloomy retreat, as he deemed his own liberty in jeopardy, and there pursued his confidential labors in behalf of king and country.

National vessels of the United States and Great Britain, however, soon came dropping in from all sides, the last of the series being freighted with authority that made the temporary dictator look foolish. From July 1 to 16 the Carysfort was absent on a cruise to Lahaina and Hilo. The United States frigate *Constellation*, commanded by Commodore Kearney, arrived from China on the 6th. From Tahiti the British sloop-of-war *Hazard*, Captain Bell, put in her appearance. Commodore Kearney, besides issuing a protest against the cession and the commission, ignored both by saluting Governor Kekuanaoa and the chiefs under the Hawaiian flag when they visited his ship. Lord Paulet felt severely affronted by the latter action. On July 26 Rear Admiral Thomas, commander-in-chief of the British naval forces in the Pacific, arrived in the flagship *Dublin* from Valparaiso. Whenever his ship came to anchor Admiral Thomas asked for a personal interview with the king, who happily had returned from Lahaina the previous day. Within a few hours the glad news went abroad that the Admiral had come to restore Hawaiian independence. Next day the terms of restoration were concluded, and the ceremonies attendant thereon set for the following Monday. That was July 31, 1843, and for half a century the anniversary of the day was a holiday in the islands. Itself was one of the days that give normal glory to the Hawaiian climate from their frequency—clear of sky and the sub-tropical sun's rays tempered with the cool trade breeze. Admiral Thomas issued a proclamation declaring, in

the name of his sovereign, that he declined to accept the provisional cession of the islands and that Queen Victoria sincerely desired king Kamehameha III to be treated as an independent sovereign, leaving the administration of justice in his own hands. A convention of ten articles was drawn up, which the king and Admiral Thomas signed. Though it fully recognized the rights of the king, it was severely protective of British interests.

For the restoration ceremonies two pavilions had been erected upon a plain east of the town, where, to commemorate the event, a large city block has since been held sacred as a public park named Thomas Square. On the day appointed the whole population swarmed to the spot to see the restoration of the flag. Marines of the Dublin, Carysfort and Hazard were drawn up in line, with a field battery on their right, when the king, under escort of his own troops, came upon the ground. Upon a flagstaff specially planted for the occasion the Hawaiian royal standard was hoisted, while a national salute of 21 guns was fired by the field artillery. Then the national flag was raised upon the fort and the summit of Punchbowl hill, being saluted by Hawaiian batteries at both points. Amidst the roaring of cannon the cheering of the populace arose in mighty volume and was long continued. An exhibition of military maneuvers by the naval redcoats concluded the ceremonies. Then the king was escorted to his palace, where the native soldiers who had served the British sovereign prayed his pardon and reswore allegiance to him. At a thanksgiving service held in Kawaiahao church in the afternoon, the king delivered an address expressing his gratification at the fulfilment of his hope that the "life of the land" would be restored. On this occasion he gave utterance to the words that became the national motto, "Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono"—meaning, "The life of the land is perpetuated by righteousness." After the Admiral's proclamation had been interpreted to the people, John Ii (aft-

erward a justice of the Supreme Court) announced an "act of grace" by the king, pardoning all offenses committed during the commission's regime and declaring ten days of public rejoicing. While these holidays were in progress, the American frigate *United States*, Commodore Jones, arrived, followed by the *Cyane*, bringing news of the successful outcome of the embassy to Europe. Admiral Thomas, while awaiting approval of his proceedings from home, resided on shore and assisted in restoring public order and in reconciling jarring interests. His action was completely approved by the British government, Lord Canning describing it as being "marked by great propriety and admirable judgment throughout, and as calculated to raise the character of the British authorities for justice, moderation and courtesy of demeanor, in the estimation of the natives of those remote countries and of the world."

RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE.

In the meantime, diplomatic events abroad were shaping to conform with the restoration at home. While Simpson went direct to England from Mexico, Marshall went to Washington. Marshall's news made a sensation. He reached England a week later than Simpson, but, before the latter had arrived, Lord Aberdeen had assured the Hawaiian envoys, as well as informed France and the United States, that Great Britain had no intention of retaining possession of the islands. Richards, Haalilio and Marshall, with Brinsmade's aid, opened a correspondence with the Foreign Office to answer the charges against the Hawaiian government which Simpson and Charlton had brought. The law advisers of the crown decided in favor of the Hawaiian government, as to all points excepting Charlton's land claim. Charlton was to be put in possession on showing the original deed and proving its genuineness. Lord Aberdeen refused to consider any claim for damages on account of Lord Paulet's acts, because he held the cession to have been the king's voluntary act. On November 28, 1843, the governments of Great Britain and France united in a declaration recognizing Hawaiian independence and engaging, each of them, never to take possession or assume a protectorate over any part of the islands. At a later time, for some years, November 28 was kept as a public holiday, besides July 31, in commemoration of national independence. The United States did not join the Anglo-French compact, but Richards and Haalilio, after returning to the United States in 1844, received from J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of State, a dispatch informing them that the President (Polk) regarded the statement of Mr. Webster (the previous Secretary) and the ap-

pointment of a commissioner as a full recognition of Hawaiian independence by the United States. George Brown, the first United States commissioner, had arrived at Honolulu on October 16, 1843. General William Miller, accredited as British consul-general, arriving in February, 1844, brought a convention with Great Britain, which was almost identical in terms with that exacted by Laplace, and the king signed it with the express understanding that it was to be only temporary. Admiral Thomas then left the islands. Miller was a soldier of fortune whose military title was gained in Chili fighting for Chilian independence. Thirteen years before coming as consul-general he had visited the islands in the Prussian ship *Princess Louisa*. Both he and Brown, the American commissioner, made a great deal of trouble with the Hawaiian government. All official intercourse with Brown was suspended on July 29, 1845, and his successor, Ten Eyck, with Joel Turrill, a new consul, were brought to Honolulu on June 1, 1846, in the United States ship *Congress*. General Miller's disputes with the government were finally referred to the British government and settled in 1847, but not before the British consul-general had appealed to force. With regard to Lord Aberdeen's decision on the Charlton land claim, Miller contended that it was only necessary for Charlton to prove the genuineness of the handwritings in the deed. The Hawaiian government held that the title must be decided before a court. After a long correspondence Miller presented a peremptory demand from the British government, and, without having even produced the deed, took possession of the land. This was in August, 1845, and in the following October an investigation was held at the palace, which resulted in the sending of a mass of evidence against Charlton's claim to England. Admiral Seymour arrived in the British 80-gun ship *Collingwood* on August 6, 1846. Though he had been sent for by General Miller to enforce his demands, on arrival he consented to act as umpire with the understand-

ing that his decision should be subject to revision by his own government. Then another investigation was held at the palace, a full report thereof being sent to England. Admiral Seymour's decision was confirmed by the final award of the British government. Charlton was to keep possession of the land, but on all other points the Hawaiian government was sustained. So ended the British aggressions. The ridiculous collapse of the long series of French interferences has already been related.

Dr. G. P. Judd acted as secretary of state from November 2, 1843, until March 26, 1845, when he voluntarily retired in favor of Robert Chrichton Wyllie, a Scotchman who came to Hawaii after long residence in South America. Mr. Wyllie was a learned and able man. He gave the benefit of his talents, together with great administrative energy, to the Hawaiian kingdom for twenty years. A street is named after him in Honolulu, but his greatest memorial is the stamp he left upon the kingdom's progress in orderly and efficient government. As attesting the unusual esteem he won in the native heart, his remains are deposited in the royal mausoleum at Honolulu among those of kings and queens. On the foreign side the government was further reinforced on March 9, 1844, by the appointment of John Ricord, a lawyer from Oregon, as attorney general. John Young, Jr., in June 1845, succeeded as premier Kekauluohi, who had died in an epidemic of influenza. Mr. Richards, about the same time, was placed at the head of the new department of public instruction, continuing in that office until his death in November, 1847, when Richard Armstrong succeeded him and held the office in two reigns until it was abolished in 1855. Haalilio died at sea while on the way home with his colleague, Richards, on December 3, 1844. A regular legislature was convened for the first time on May 20, 1845, which empowered Mr. Ricord to draft laws organizing the five executive departments, viz.: foreign affairs, interior, finance, attor-

ney-general's and public instruction. David Malo, a native historian, was leader of an agitation about this time to have all foreigners except Richards dismissed from the government, to stop the further naturalization of foreigners—about 350 of whom had thus far been naturalized—and to prevent the selling of land to foreigners. Maui was the focus of this movement and the king and John Young conducted a campaign of education on that island, to show the people the wisdom of maintaining a composite government of native and foreign elements. Mr. Ricord's commission resulted in the passage of two volumes of laws at the sessions of 1846 and 1847, which formed the groundwork of governmental machinery practically until annexation to the United States was organically consummated by the creation of the Territory of Hawaii in 1900. A judiciary system which, with some changes, yet remains intact under the American flag, was instituted in 1846. William L. Lee, an able young lawyer, bearing high recommendations from Professor Greenleaf and Judge Story, was among fifteen passengers in the brig *Henry*, bound from Newburyport for Oregon, which called at Honolulu on October 12 of that year. Mr. Lee was induced to remain and accept the office of chief justice, remaining therein until his death in May 28, 1857. He organized the courts of justice and made the supreme court of the little kingdom compare favorably with the highest tribunals of other civilized countries. A monumental event of this reign was the great division of lands. At the instance of Dr. Judd a law was passed in 1845 creating a board of commissioners to quiet land titles. All persons were required to file their claims to land before this board within two years, or be forever barred. The commission lasted nearly ten years. It was adjudged by the board that there were but three classes having vested interests in land: 1, the king; 2, the chiefs; 3, the tenants or common people. Further the board suggested that the king should allow the landlords one-third and the tenants one-third, keeping one-third for himself.

For a couple of years this scheme was delayed through efforts of the king and chiefs to secure a division among themselves enabling each of them to hold land in fee simple. In December, 1847, the privy council adopted the original proposal, and a committee headed by Dr. Judd completed the division schedules in forty days. The king generously divided the lands apportioned to himself, devoting one-half thereof to government purposes and reserving the other moiety for his own private estate. Three years later most of the chiefs surrendered a third of their lands to the government domain, in consideration of obtaining an absolute title for themselves in the remainder. Until the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 the distinction of "government" and "crown" lands was maintained, the latter being solely for maintaining the royal state and dignity—a judicial decision at a late period, when a member of the royal family had made a grant of crown lands, declaring such to be inalienable. Fee simple titles were offered to the common people for their homesteads. Claims finally confirmed in the great land division numbered eleven thousand three hundred and nine. Prior to July 10, 1850, aliens were not allowed to own lands in fee simple.

Kamehameha III died on December 15, 1854, in the forty-second year of his age, and was immediately succeeded by Alexander Liholiho, his adopted son and heir, under the title of Kamehameha IV. Events of some excitement in the late reign may here be noted. Four or five hundred sailors engaged in a riot on November 10, 1852, after the funeral of a seaman named John Burns, who died in jail from the stroke of a policeman's club. The rioters burned the station house and looted liquor shops. Next morning the foreigners organized a military force of two hundred men, which a few days after the trouble effected permanent organization for future emergencies. This was the first foreign military company in the islands and took the name of the "Hawaiian Guards." As to the riot, Governor Kekuanaoa put it down the same



Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop
(Founder, by Her Last Will, of Kamehameha Schools for Boys and Girls)

morning without calling out his soldiers. At his command the multitude of natives, without weapons, who had been peaceful spectators of the disorder, cleared the streets and ran forty or fifty rioters into the fort. The foreign volunteers afterward patrolled the streets and made some arrests. Nobody was killed. Owing to warnings of invasion by filibusters from California, where adventurers of many lands were attracted by the gold discovery in 1849, the United States warship *Vandalia* was kept at Honolulu on guard, while her officers drilled native soldiers for some months. A band of rough characters did arrive in the vessel *Gamecock* in November, 1851, but most of them soon returned to the Coast. On their way to Honolulu they had rifled the mailbag, throwing the letters overboard. A terrible epidemic of smallpox occurred in 1853, which was not stamped out for about seven months, when from 2,500 to 3,000 persons had died of the disease. Advantage was taken of this visitation by a faction of foreigners, many of them recent arrivals from California, to make political capital against the government. Armstrong and Judd were especially accused of being responsible for the spread of the disease. Petitions for their removal were presented to the king. Attempts to intimidate the chiefs were made. A movement in favor of annexation to the United States was started. The faction appointed a committee of thirteen to carry out their designs. A joint remonstrance against the annexation scheme was presented to the king by the British and French consuls. Amidst the turmoil the cabinet resigned, but its members were all reappointed except Dr. Judd, who was succeeded by E. H. Allen without causing any change of policy. But the agitation for absorption by the United States grew into a formidable crisis in 1854. Alarmed by rumors of filibustering visitation and depressed by the calamities and troubles by which his kingdom had been visited, the king directed Mr. Wyllie, on February 6, 1854, to find out what terms could be arranged for a treaty of annexation which

might be needed to meet an emergency. While Mr. Wyllie was yet engaged in negotiations with United States Minister Gregg, in November following, he was informed that three hundred filibusters were on the way from San Francisco and that a strong organization of Californians and others were in armed readiness to assist the contemplated revolution. Though a false alarm, it resulted in an application by Mr. Wyllie, under direction of the king and cabinet, to the representatives of the powers for protection. This application brought a promise of support to the government from the United States ships Portsmouth and St. Mary's, the British ship Trincomalee and the French frigate Artemise. A proclamation followed, declaring that the king had accepted the assistance of the three nations mentioned and that his independence was more firmly established than ever before. One of the effects of the annexation movement was to produce a commercial and industrial boom, as the event was generally believed certain to happen.

FOURTH AND FIFTH KAMEHAMEHAS.

Kamehameha IV, on taking the oath to the constitution in Kawaiahao church on January 11, 1855, delivered an eloquent address. "He was then twenty-one years of age," Alexander says, "of brilliant talents and winning manners, and his accession to the throne was hailed with high anticipations by the nation at large. A diligent student of English history, he was ambitious to reign as a constitutional king." Negotiations for annexation were broken off and Chief Justice Lee was sent to Washington in 1865 to negotiate a reciprocity treaty, which was done, but only to have the treaty rejected by the Senate. E. H. Allen went to Washington the following year to urge the ratification of the treaty, but he did not succeed. The king married Emma Rooke, a granddaughter of John Young, on June 19, 1856. She was the adopted daughter of Dr. Rooke, an English physician, and a good education in the



Kamehameha IV.



Kamehameha V.

school for chiefs reinforced her naturally bright talents. A son was born to the royal couple on May 20, 1858, who was officially entitled "The Prince of Hawaii," but he died on August 27, 1862. Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma founded the Queen's Hospital, which is to-day the leading hospital in the Territory of Hawaii. They also caused the institution of the Anglican church in Hawaii, with the Rt. Rev. T. N. Staley, D. D., as its first bishop, consecrated December 15, 1861. They donated a site for a cathedral in the heart of the city, on which part of a handsome Gothic edifice was dedicated twenty years ago and is now being completed by the American Episcopal church in Hawaii under Bishop H. B. Restarick. The king made an excellent translation of the Anglican prayer-book into Hawaiian. Church schools established at the outset are now flourishing. Great harbor improvements were carried out in Kamehameha IV's reign, various public buildings erected and common utilities improved. Steam navigation between the islands by a chartered company began in 1860. Two powerful companies later engaged in this enterprise for many years, becoming amalgamated into one corporation as late as 1905. Agriculture, with various fluctuations, meantime had made good progress. During the gold discovery days in California, wheat and other temperate zone products were cultivated. Hawaiian-ground flour, even, was in 1854 exported to the Coast. The whaling fleet stimulated trade and industry. In 1859 no less than 197 whaleships called at ports of the islands to transship the products of their catches and obtain supplies. A sugar plantation had been started at Koloa, Kauai, as far back as 1835, and in the early forties the sugar industry was growing. Kamehameha IV died on November 30, 1863, aged twenty-nine years, having reigned nearly nine years.

On the day that Kamehameha IV died his elder brother, Prince Lot Kamehameha, was proclaimed king as Kamehameha V. As minister of the interior in his brother's reign he had shown a good deal of

ability. He retained Mr. Wyllie in the cabinet. The other ministers at the beginning of the reign were an American lawyer named C. C. Harris, C. de Varigny and G. M. Robertson. The chief political event in Kamehameha V's reign was a change of the constitution. He had thought that the system of government was ahead of the times in liberality, and having declined to take the oath to maintain the constitution of 1852 he called a constitutional convention. This body consisted of the king presiding, sixteen nobles and twenty-seven elected delegates. It met on July 7, 1864, and took a week to decide that the three estates of the realm should sit together in one chamber. Then, after another debate, it was decided that the convention had the right to make a new constitution. It never made one, however, as the king lost patience over an interminable wrangle about a proposed property qualification for voters and suddenly ended the proceedings. He declared the constitution of 1852 abrogated and prorogued the convention, saying, "I will give you a new constitution." This was on August 13. Good as his word, the king, on August 20, promulgated a new constitution on his own authority, which stood as the fundamental law of the kingdom for twenty-three years. It gave much less absolute power to the king than was expected. A small property qualification for the election of representatives was provided, the nobles being appointed for life by the king, and the nobles and representatives were to sit and vote together in one chamber.



Queen Emma (Wife of Kamehameha IV.)



Young Prince of Hawaii (Kahakuo)

SOME NOTEWORTHY EVENTS.

Queen Dowager Emma went to England in 1865, remaining abroad more than a year. She left in the British warship *Clio*, landing at Panama, and returned in the United States warship *Vanderbilt*. The Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah* made havoc among whaling ships in the Pacific in 1865, throwing hundreds of Hawaiian sailors out of employment. One Hawaiian whaler named the *Harvest* was among four vessels burned at the Caroline Islands, from whence ninety-eight seamen were brought to Honolulu by the bark *Kamehameha V*, sent to their relief. Mr. Wyllie died the same year. Mr. Harris was sent to Washington in 1867 to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States, which he did but only to have it rejected by the Senate after its approval by the President and his cabinet. In 1868 a fanatic named Kaona, claiming to be a prophet, started an insurrection. He had previously been confined in the insane asylum at Honolulu, but was lately discharged as cured. After Richard B. Neville, a deputy sheriff, had been killed in a skirmish and Kamai, a native policeman, captured and murdered a day later by the fanatics, Kaona and his party were taken prisoners by Mr. Coney, sheriff of Hawaii, without further bloodshed. Seventy-five of them were taken to Honolulu and five of the ringleaders being convicted of manslaughter, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. On April 19, 1870, the British steamer *Wonga Wonga* arrived twenty-three days from Auckland, inaugurating steamship communication between the Australian Colonies and San Francisco which has never since ceased. Over a thousand seamen who survived from the loss of thirty-three whaling ships, ice-pinched in the Arctic in 1871, were brought to Honolulu in five

ships that escaped. The disaster was a great financial loss to Honolulu, as the whaling trade immediately dwindled. Light was first shown from Honolulu harbor lighthouse, still (1906) in service, on August 2, 1869. A new postoffice, the main portion of the present one, was opened in March, 1870. In 1872 the Hawaiian Hotel, now for many years private property, was erected by the government. The same year saw the beginning of construction of "Aliiolani Hale," a building for the legislature, departments and courts, which is now known as the "Judiciary Building." It was completed in 1874 at a cost of \$130,000.

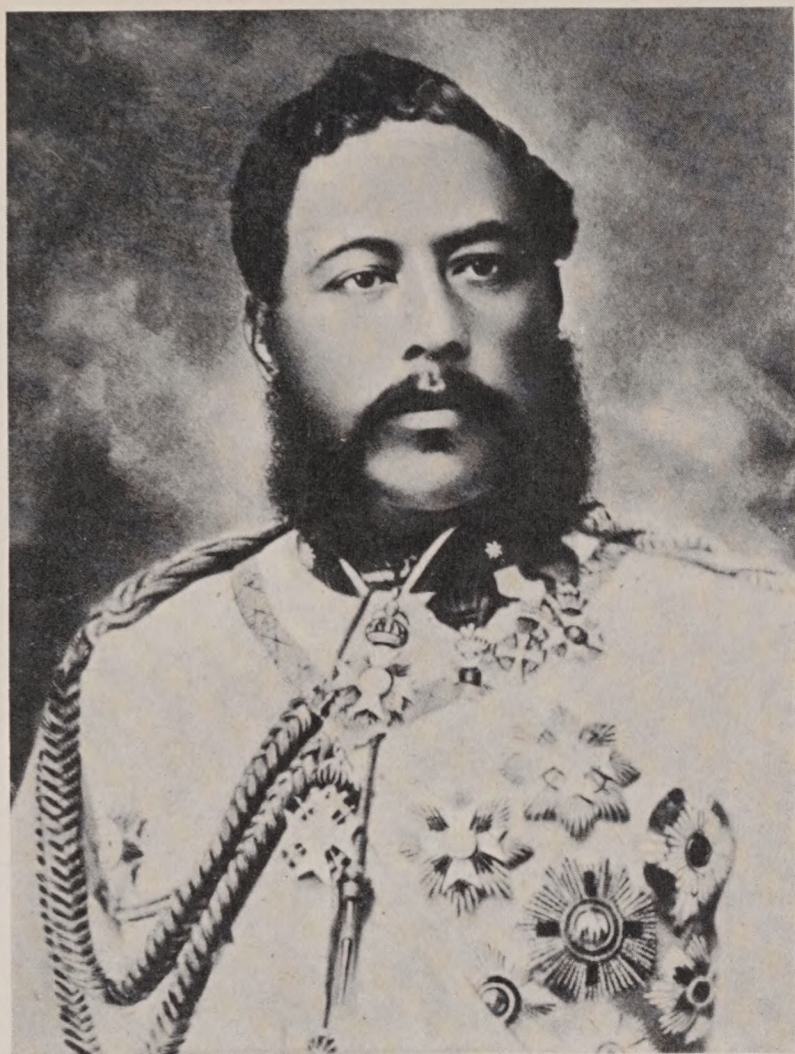
Kamehameha V died suddenly on December 11, 1872, in the forty-third year of his age. He was the last sovereign of the Kamehameha dynasty and he died without nominating a successor. It became incumbent on the legislature to elect a new king. Prince William C. Lunalilo was commonly recognized as the highest-born surviving chief, besides which he was universally popular with foreigners as well as natives. Lunalilo, in a published address, asked the Hawaiian people to poll themselves on their choice for king, by way of instruction to their representatives. As a result, on January 1, 1873, the largest vote ever till then polled was cast and it was almost unanimous for Lunalilo. The legislature met on January 8 and elected Lunalilo king, who took the oath next day in Kawaiahao church. An amendment to the constitution was enacted which abolished the property qualification for voters in 1874. Lunalilo's cabinet consisted of R. Stirling, C. R. Bishop, E. O. Hall and A. F. Judd. Considerable disaffection was caused by enforcement of the law for segregating lepers. Another cause of bitter feeling on the part of the natives was the starting of negotiations for reciprocity with the United States, the kingdom to offer as an inducement to that country the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor for a naval station. At the desire of the king, whose health had failed, the negotiations were discontinued. This remedy was taken too late, for a mutiny broke out

among the household troops. They assaulted their drillmaster, an Austrian named Jajczay, and demanded his dismissal and that of the adjutant general. Dragging two cannons from the palace yard to the barracks they loaded them with grapeshot and defied the authorities. There was much sympathy on the outside with the mutineers. A message from the king, who lay sick at Waikiki, induced thirteen of the soldiers to surrender. For the twenty-four that remained a warrant of arrest was issued. It was not executed for fear of bloodshed and a general riot. A siege of the barracks was the plan adopted. An autograph letter from the king offering a free pardon to the mutineers, on condition of giving up their arms and leaving the barracks, was effectual on the fifth day after the outbreak in restoring peace. The garrison on surrendering was disbanded. Besides weakening respect for the government, the event intensified race hatred. Lunalilo did not regain his health. After trying a change of climate at Kailua, Hawaii, for several months, he returned to Honolulu, where he died of pulmonary consumption on February 3, 1874, having reigned one year and twenty-five days. He left most of his private lands by will to found a home for aged and indigent Hawaiians, which, by the increased value of the estate, is well assured to last as long as the native race. Lunalilo took pride in being "the people's king" and his tomb is among the graves of the people, according to his dying request, in Kawaiahao churchyard.

ELECTION OF KALAKAUA.

As Lunalilo, like the previous king, had died without naming his successor, the legislature once more had to elect a sovereign. It was but two days before the king's death that a new legislature had been elected. Queen Dowager Emma and Col. David Kalakaua were the candidates for the throne. Kalakaua was the American candidate, owing to Emma's close affinity to the English. There was no popular

vote taken this time, but mass meetings and printed circulars made the rival campaigns warm. On February 12 the legislature met in the courthouse (later occupied by H. Hackfeld & Co.) and elected Kalakaua by thirty-nine votes to only six for Queen Emma. Forthwith Queen Emma's supporters, who had been swarming around the courthouse during the election, engaged in fierce rioting. Breaking into the building from the rear they began smashing the furniture and tossing the lawbooks out of the windows. They assailed the members of the legislature with clubs. Representative Lonoaea of Wailuku received an injury from which he died. The police were inadequate to the emergency and the volunteer troops were factionally divided, so that the government was constrained to seek foreign assistance. On application to the American and British representatives, 150 marines were landed from the United States ships *Tuscarora* and *Portsmouth*, together with a force from the British ship *Tenedos*. These troops dispersed the rioters and guarded the building for eight days. Kalakaua took the oath of office and was proclaimed king on February 13, 1874, his younger brother, Prince William Pitt Leleiohoku, the next day being proclaimed heir apparent. Leleiohoku died April 10, 1877, whereupon the king's sister, Lydia Kamaeaha Liliuokalani, was proclaimed as heir. (She was married to an American named John O. Dominis, who died while she was queen.) Kalakaua, born November 16, 1836, was descended from chiefs famous in the counsels of Kamehameha I. On December 19, 1863, he married Kapiolani, a grand-daughter of Kaumualii, the last king of Kauai. His first cabinet consisted of William Lothian Green (author of "Vestiges of the Molten Globe"), H. A. Widemann, P. Nahaolelua and A. S. Hartwell (now a second time in his Hawaiian career a justice of the Supreme Court, his present commission being from President Roosevelt). On the invitation of the United States government the king left on November 17, 1874, for a visit to the United States, and, after being



King Kalakaua



Queen Kapiolani (Wife of Kalakaua)

well received in a tour of the northern states, returned on February 15, 1875. One of his party on that trip was H. A. Peirce, the United States Minister. It was largely due to this visit of the king that the long-desired reciprocity treaty with the United States came into effect in September, 1876. This compact immensely stimulated Hawaiian development. Under it the sugar industry became the dominating material interest of the islands. The treaty also made American influence paramount in all the affairs of the kingdom, riveting the white man's control of everything. (The Pearl Harbor clause was inserted in a renewal of the treaty.) With the growth of the sugar industry came a demand for agricultural labor which, though fed by the importation of people of many races ever since, is still in this year, 1906, unsatiated. This demand formed a principal reason for a trip around the world on which the king embarked January 20, 1881, accompanied by his chamberlain, C. H. Judd, and W. N. Armstrong as commissioner of immigration. Touching first at California the royal expedition went thence to Japan, and from there by way of Siam, India and Egypt to the European capitals, returning by way of Washington and arriving home on October 29, 1881. Received with royal honors by the heads of kingdoms and republics the king had a splendid reception on his return. Iolani Palace (now the executive building or capitol) was completed in 1883 at a cost of \$340,000. Soon after Kalakaua's return his reign began to breed disappointment and most with the foreign party that was chiefly responsible in elevating him to the throne. He had an extravagant coronation ceremony, for the needless pomp of investing himself and the queen with crowns, in the year 1883. He became an active politician to promote a policy of giving himself absolute prerogative. To this end he crowded the legislature with office-holders. Though a small band of white men managed to obtain election as representatives and there were among the life nobles a goodly representation of white busi-

ness men, for the three sessions of 1882, 1884 and 1886 particularly there was necessary a desperate and not always successful struggle to prevent the passage of dangerous and unwholesome legislation of royal promotion. In 1886 a deluge of enactments inimical to the country's welfare carried. There was an absurdly extravagant vote of money to celebrate the king's jubilee birthday that year, and when the celebration came it was marked with many features suggestive of downright reaction toward barbarism. A ten-million dollar loan enabling act was passed. An act to charter a lottery company was another of the king's measures, while an act to license the importation and sale of opium—theretofore prohibited for the protection of the natives—paved the way for the king's perpetration of one of the crowning blunders of a series that led to a sudden check upon his aspirations for absolutism. When the opium bill became law the king received \$80,000 from a wealthy Chinese rice planter as consideration for granting him the opium license monopoly, yet while retaining the money the king had the license issued to another rich Chinese resident. On top of all these things came the king's attempts to realize the wild dream of becoming the Emperor of the Pacific. In 1883 he had started this policy overtly by sending two commissioners to the Gilbert and the New Hebrides groups with a view to establishing Hawaiian protectorates over those as yet independent domains. Then in 1886 he impelled a docile cabinet, authorized by a servile majority of the legislature, to purchase for \$20,000 an old auxiliary steam schooner from an Englishman, a South Sea copra factor, and have it changed to a bark-rig and outfitted at great expense as a naval vessel. Its name was changed from the Explorer to the Kaimiloa, a retired British captain was transferred from superintendency of the Reform School to be its commander, a native Hawaiian was made lieutenant and, with the complement of officers filled with favorites, the boys of the Reform School were shipped as cadets. Altogether the pur-

chase and outfitting of this naval freak cost nearly \$100,000. John E. Bush, an educated part-Hawaiian member of the House of Nobles, who had been a cabinet minister, was commissioned late in 1886 as minister plenipotentiary to the kings of Samoa and Tonga, also high commissioner to the potentates and tribes of other islands of Polynesia. Mr. Bush arrived in Samoa in January, 1887. The Kaimiloa with its motley company and ship's stores largely composed of spirituous liquors followed in March. Though the minister negotiated an alliance between Hawaii and Samoa it came to nothing. German interests were weighty in Samoa and the representatives of Germany there, with backing of naval force as they had, produced an effective chill upon Hawaiian imperial enterprise. Moreover, the Kaimiloa's company promoted scandal and the combined diplomatic and naval contingent was recalled in July. A storm was then about to break at home. From the beginning of 1887, if not earlier, a secret league was being organized by white residents to bring about good government by peaceful means if possible but otherwise by force, as the terms of the oath to members in substance ran. The Honolulu Rifles, a small battalion of foreign volunteers, was worked up to highest attainable efficiency and, in due time, its members were admitted to knowledge of what was expected of them. Arms and ammunition were imported by hardware dealers and purchased by members of the league as private investments. All being in readiness a mass meeting of friends of good government assembled, pursuant to public call, on June 30, 1887, in the Honolulu Rifles' armory in Beretania street. There was a large concourse there, composed of nearly all the business, professional and industrial white men of Honolulu. By some curious fate an order was given by the adjutant of the king's staff, who was also the attorney general, to the Honolulu Rifles to assemble at the armory for the protection of the meeting. The premier, Walter Murray Gibson, regarded the popular foreign movement until nearly the last as a mere

breeze of excitement that would die away in empty talk. Impassioned speeches, denouncing the course of affairs for years past and demanding immediate reformation, were delivered amidst ringing applause. The mild suggestion of a prominent merchant, that things would ultimately be mended if the agitators waited a while, was met with a voice, "We have waited four years already," which was greeted with a thunder of approval. Resolutions were passed by acclamation embodying an address to the king, which requested the immediate dismissal of his cabinet, the abrogation of certain obnoxious measures and a new constitution. Though four hundred armed men were behind the eight-foot concrete wall around the palace grounds to guard his person, the king returned an answer to the meeting before it dispersed saying that the requests would be granted. It is known that the American and British diplomatic representatives, respectively George W. Merrill and James H. Wodehouse, had intimated to Kalakaua that they deemed it essential on his part to concede government reforms such as those requested. On the night following the mass meeting the revolutionists placed the city practically under martial law. They set a guard over the house of the premier opposite the palace, and a day or two later they led Mr. Gibson a prisoner to a warehouse on the waterfront and deported him in a sailing vessel to San Francisco. The king dismissed his ministers and appointed nominees of the league in their places, the reform cabinet consisting of L. A. Thurston, Wm. Lothian Green, Godfrey Brown and C. W. Ashford. On July 7 the king signed a constitution as presented to him by the revolutionists. This instrument was a revision of the constitution of 1864. It substituted an elective for the appointive House of Nobles, the electors therefor to be males of legal age, of Hawaiian or European birth or descent, each possessing real estate of the value of \$1,000 or receiving an annual income of not less than \$600. Aliens of European race were also accorded the manhood suffrage to vote for

members of the House of Representatives. The cabinet was not to be dismissed excepting upon a vote of want of confidence by the legislature. This was called the "bayonet constitution" by supporters of the palace party. Robert W. Wilcox, who had received a military education in Italy under the regular legislative appropriation for the "education of Hawaiian youths abroad," drilled a native force at nights on the premises of the heir apparent at Palama, and early in the morning of July 30, 1889, marched his command into town and, without opposition from the household troops but rather with some connivance on their part, occupied Iolani Palace grounds. There were only about eighty insurgents from the outside, but the king's soldiers let them have the battery of field pieces, and malcontents joining the drilled rebels at the entry swelled the insurgent force to about 200. For some time the white volunteers (Honolulu Rifles) had been in a dormant condition, but by nine o'clock two small companies were mustered under arms and sent to positions near the palace. Citizens having rifles from the 1887 affair also hurried to buildings commanding the palace yard, at that time surrounded by an eight-foot concrete wall and having strong gates with barbette defenses. Kalakaua had fled to his boathouse near the mouth of the harbor, refusing to return to the palace and proclaim a new constitution, as the insurgents desired. On being given the alarm of the seizure of the palace grounds at the outset, the cabinet ministers promptly took steps for keeping the city's peace as well as for quelling the insurrection. About ten o'clock a sharp exchange of rifle shots between the palace and the Opera House opposite—as to which side fired the opening shot there was some dispute afterward—was followed by the roar of a field piece. It was a poor aim and the charge of grapeshot went over the Opera House and splashed into the harbor. Another pull on the lanyard and a round shot went through the front brick wall of that building and lodged in the wood-

work close to the stage. Very soon the artillerists were driven to cover, one or two of them receiving wounds, and the battle then became one of desultory rifle fire. A body of rebels had been posted in the government building grounds, on the same side of King street as the Opera House. These from behind trees menaced a company of volunteers marching to position, but did not dare to fire and were soon dispersed by sharp-shooters posted in various buildings. By noon any rebel showing himself in the palace enclosure instantly became a mark for a score of riflemen. Many of the insurgents escaped or surrendered, and the occasional sight of a bleeding prisoner, led through the streets to the police station, tended to overawe crowds of sympathizers outside who evidently were awaiting an opportune moment for taking a hand in the attempted revolution. The palace itself was not occupied by Wilcox's men. About sunset a terrific rifle fire was concentrated upon the bungalow—a private residence of the king within the grounds—whither Wilcox and his men had taken refuge. Then, as the short tropical twilight was rapidly waning, two loud explosions in quick succession occurred at the bungalow. Rough bombs of dynamite and scrap iron had been hurled upon the building by the champion baseball thrower of the town. A white sheet was immediately displayed from the inside and the revolutionists surrendered. Seven of the rebels had been killed and many wounded. Wilcox and a crowd of his followers were tried for treason. Race juries then existed and the defendants were promptly acquitted by their countrymen. It was not altogether a partisan verdict, though, for the evidence implicated the king in the uprising and the court instructed the jury, substantially, that treason being an offense against the king it could not have been committed in acts wherein the king had assisted. Kalakaua, having failed in health, left for California in the U. S. cruiser *Charleston*, as the guest of Rear Admiral George Brown, in November, 1890. He was received with great hospitality

in San Francisco and in Southern California, but the apparently good effects of the voyage did not last. Kalakaua died at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, on January 20, 1891. There was no cable communication then and the first intimation of the king's death in Honolulu was transmitted from the Diamond Head marine signal station, when, on the morning of January 29, the Charleston appeared in the offing with crossed yards and flags at halfmast, bringing home the body.

THE LAST SOVEREIGN.

Liliuokalani, who had been regent since her brother's departure, took the oath to the constitution the same day and was proclaimed queen. Notwithstanding the provision in the constitution that a cabinet could not be dismissed excepting upon a legislative vote of want of confidence, the queen claimed the right to appoint ministers of her own choice and the Supreme Court sustained her claim. The court adopted old English precedents in its decision, paying no heed to the citation of the latest English authorities showing that these precedents were obsolete. At the death of Queen Victoria these authorities proved to be correct. Princess Victoria Kaiulani, niece of the queen, was proclaimed heir apparent. (She was the daughter of Archibald S. Cleghorn and Princess Likelike, born October 16, 1875, and died March 6, 1899.) Liliuokalani had a short and politically troubled reign, ended by the collapse of the monarchy. In May, 1892, Robert Wilcox, V. V. Ashford (military leader of the 1887 revolution), John E. Bush and others were arrested for conspiracy to establish a republic. They were not punished. The legislature of 1892 was in session for eight months, its duration being marked by almost constant intrigue and battle for control of the government. There were three distinct parties, of which any two were always ready to unite in turning a ministry out, but none of them could frame a cabinet that either the queen or a majority of the legislature would accept. Four changes of ministry took place before the end came. Such a situation gave a pretext for regarding the constitution of 1887 as a failure. Accordingly a new constitution was secretly drafted, which gave the sovereign back the power of appointing the members of the



Gov. John O. Dominis (Consort of Queen Liliuokalani)



Princess Likelike

upper house, also power over the Supreme Court as well as the cabinet through independent appointment and dismissal, and which took away the elective franchise given to aliens by the instrument of 1887. In the last week of the session a bill granting a franchise to establish a lottery was passed, also an act to license the importation and sale of opium. On January 12, 1893, a vote of want of confidence in a ministry appointed on November 8 was carried and the queen appointed a cabinet pledged to a new constitution. Only a few days previously the queen had expressed to an intimate friend, a member of the Privy Council of State, her assent to his advice that "the only way to alter the constitution was through the means provided in the constitution." The same adviser was visited at night by a strong deputation of politicians, who tried to persuade him to give contrary advice to the queen. Arrangements were made to have the new constitution proclaimed on January 14, directly after the prorogation of the legislature. The troops were assembled at the palace, also a large crowd of sympathizers with the intended revolution, but at the critical juncture the cabinet weakened. Its members refused to sign the new constitution and one or two of them took counsel with leading citizens in the emergency. After a warm conference with her cabinet, the queen came out upon the palace balcony and addressed the people, expressing regret that the promulgation of the new constitution had to be postponed. An informal meeting of residents was held in a law office down town, at which a committee of safety was appointed. The committee prepared the papers for establishing a provisional government, and its action was ratified by a mass meeting on the afternoon of the 16th. An appeal to U. S. Minister Stevens for assistance to the movement, in the guise of protection to American interests, resulted in the landing of a force from the cruiser Boston on the evening of that day. The following day, Tuesday, January 17, 1893, a provisional government was proclaimed in front of the

government building. Judge Sanford B. Dole, who resigned from the Supreme Court to accept the position, was declared as the president. There was an executive council of four members and an advisory council of fourteen with legislative powers. The proclamation pronounced the abrogation of the monarchy and the accession of the provisional government to continue in authority until terms of union with the United States had been negotiated and agreed upon. The queen surrendered her authority under protest, referring to the superior force of the United States, and appealed to the government of the United States for reinstatement. Five commissioners left on January 19 in the steamer Claudine for San Francisco to negotiate a treaty of annexation in Washington. They were favorably received by President Harrison and a treaty was signed on February 14 and transmitted to the Senate on the 17th. It was not acted upon and on March 9 President Cleveland withdrew it. Two days later the President dispatched Col. James H. Blount of Georgia as his special commissioner to investigate the situation in the Hawaiian Islands. Blount's authority was in terms "paramount," so that on his arrival he superseded Minister Stevens as the United States representative. He arrived on March 29 and on April 1 abrogated a protectorate that Stevens had established on February 1, having the Stars and Stripes lowered from the Government building with military ceremony as when it was raised. On the basis of a report made by Blount, to the effect that the queen was deposed through the interference of United States troops, the President commissioned Albert S. Willis of Kentucky as Minister to the Hawaiian Islands, with instructions to restore the queen if she would promise to grant a full amnesty to the revolutionists. At first the queen rejected the condition, but finding it absolute, agreed to the amnesty. Willis on December 19, 1893, made a formal demand on the provisional government to surrender its authority to Queen Liliuokalani. President Dole on the 23rd sent a reply to

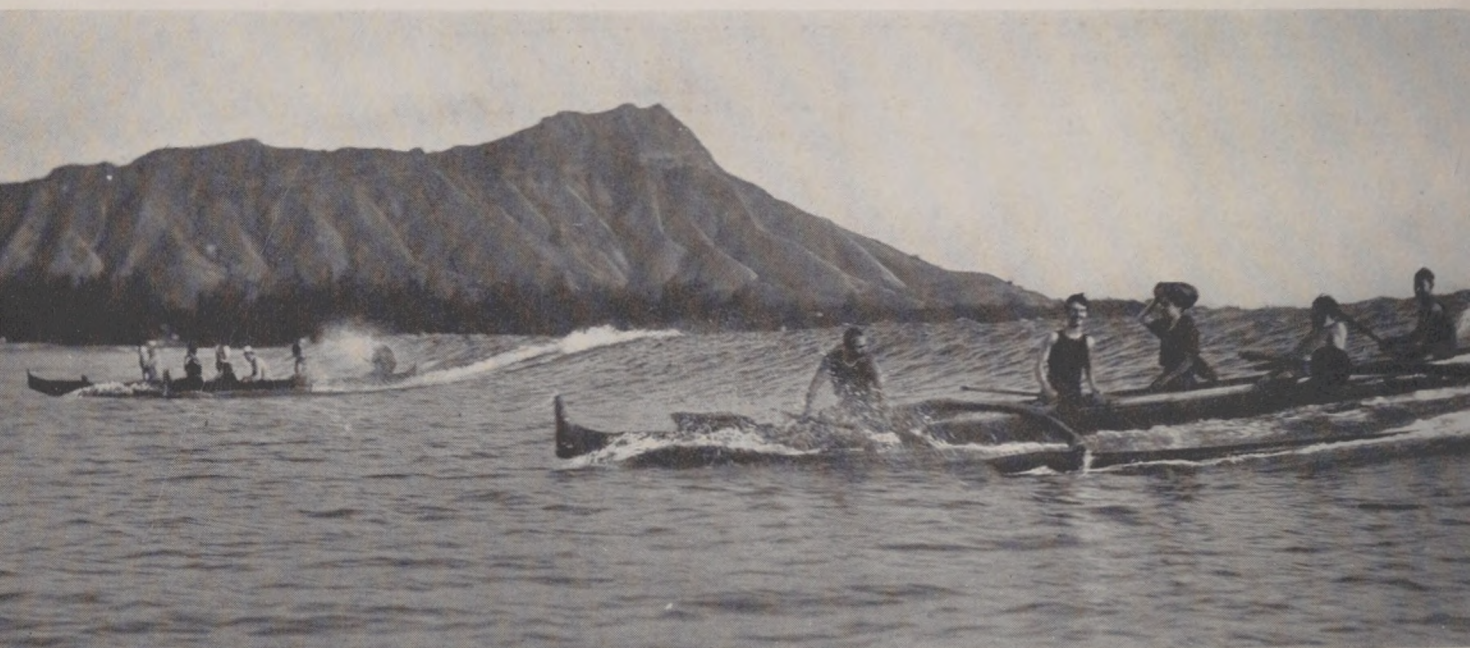
Minister Willis, refusing to comply with the demand. No attempt to enforce the demand was made. A constitutional convention met on May 30, 1894, completing its work on July 3, the result being the inauguration of the Republic of Hawaii on July 4, with Mr. Dole as its first president. The first election under the Republic was held October 29 following, the great mass of the native electorate taking no part in it. An attempt at a counter revolution took shape in an outbreak on Sunday, January 6, 1895. A cargo of arms and ammunition had been landed the previous month near Diamond Head. The police had foiled a distribution of arms at Kakaako beach the Thursday night prior to the Sunday mentioned, so that the authorities were not taken altogether by surprise. On the Sunday evening a squad of police sent to search for arms exchanged shots with a body of royalists assembled at their Diamond Head rendezvous under the command of Robert Wilcox and Major Sam. Nowlein. Charles L. Carter, a young lawyer and member of one of the oldest American families of Honolulu, who rushed into the fray with the police, was struck by a rebel bullet from which he died that night. Two native policemen were wounded. Martial law was declared and the town was well guarded over night by the military and the citizens' guard. Next day regular operations for quelling the insurrection began. There was some skirmishing from day to day, the insurgents being kept on the run in the mountains. In one affair forty rebels were captured, and in another one was killed and three were taken prisoners. Nowlein and three of his lieutenants were seized at Moiliili, while Wilcox through an acquaintance gave himself up in a fisherman's hut at Kalihi, all on the 14th. Many suspected persons in town were arrested, including the former queen, under whose house some old firearms and bombs were discovered. Eight days after her arrest, she being confined in her former palace, Liliuokalani formally renounced her claim to the throne and implored amnesty for the insur-

rectionists. Of 190 persons tried by court martial, 90 pleaded guilty. A number were sentenced to death and others to life and lesser terms of imprisonment. Heavy fines were also imposed but only one, that of \$5,000 upon John A. Cummins, a part Hawaiian who had been long in public life, was ever paid. Liliuokalani and 48 others were paroled on September 7 and on the following New Year's Day all the remaining prisoners were released. None had been executed.

When President McKinley took office negotiations for annexation were resumed. A new treaty was signed on June 16, 1897. It was ratified by the Hawaiian Senate, but never pressed in the United States Senate. When the Spanish-American war broke out, the government of the Republic of Hawaii tendered the freedom of the islands to the United States for military purposes. A joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, annexing the islands, passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 209 to 91, and the Senate by 42 to 21, and was signed by President McKinley on July 7, 1898. The formal transfer of sovereignty was made on August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian ensign coming down and the star spangled banner going up over the former palace. Admiral Miller, U. S. N., was master of ceremonies. By an Act of Congress, passed in April, 1900, the Territory of Hawaii was created. Sanford B. Dole was appointed as the first governor. Under annexation the development and progress of the Hawaiian Islands have made rapid strides.



Punch Bowl and the Executive Building—Honolulu



Diamond Head—Honolulu

THE COMMERCE OF HAWAII.

Although the archipelago constituting the territory of Hawaii is a land of romance and physical wonders, considered from the cold standpoint of dollars and cents and actual productiveness, its chief value has consisted in its capacity as a source of the sugar supply of the world. How that item preponderates over all others is evident from the official figures for the year ending June 30, 1905, which embrace the chief articles of export to foreign countries and non-contiguous territory:

<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Sugar, raw	811,603,329	\$33,946,040
Sugar, refined	21,118,308	1,166,108
Coffee, raw	1,543,362	186,583
Rice	2,774,183	84,518
Fruits and nuts.....	.....	194,826
Honey .....	.....	22,264
Hides	899,963	84,092
Wool, raw	423,114	53,558
Other .....	.....	388,808
Total .....	.....	\$36,126,797

The above table includes only the domestic merchandise exported; when to this is added the exports of foreign merchandise, the total is \$36,174,526. The total imports of the district of Hawaii for the fiscal year 1905 were valued at \$14,718,483, making the foreign commerce of the territory, \$50,893,009.

After the preponderance of sugar as an article of commerce, the most striking feature in the trade of Hawaii is the supremacy of the United States as her market of supply for food products and manufactures. For the year named, the shipments from the mainland of the

United States were valued at \$11,703,519, and of this amount the following items were of domestic origin:

<i>Domestic Articles.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Animals	\$ 93,146
Animal food (hay, grain, etc.)	1,044,642
Breadstuffs	645,818
Cotton and manufactures of	1,020,125
Chemicals	202,436
Fertilizers	644,491
Fish	241,046
Fruits and nuts	173,492
Iron and steel, manufactures of	1,453,160
Jewelry	182,477
Leather and manufactures of	336,460
Oil	995,751
Paper and manufactures of	168,988
Provisions (meat and dairy products)	547,162
Rice	143,142
Sugar and molasses	110,005
Spirits, wines and malt liquors	468,179
Soap	103,178
Tobacco, manufactures of	522,945
Vegetables	202,466
Wood and manufactures of	589,884
Wool, manufactures of	183,584
All other articles	1,529,503
Total	\$11,602,080

Hawaii's total commerce with other countries than the United States was as follows:

<i>Countries.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
Great Britain	\$ 305,879	\$ 810
British colonies	544,679	22,661
Germany	544,534	1,324
Hongkong	174,129	9,016
Japan	962,651	21,909
Chile	448,278	....
France	14,967	....
Other countries	19,847	3,821
Totals	\$3,014,964	\$59,541

In other words, of the \$50,893,009, which represents the commerce of Hawaii, all but \$3,974,505 represents transactions with the United States. This trade was also largely carried on by American vessels, for out of the total tonnage of 973,279 that of the United States amounted to 800,287. The British tonnage amounted to 135,624.

As compared with the fiscal year 1904, the figures show a decrease in round numbers of \$1,000,000 in the value of the imports; they also show an increase of \$11,000,000 in the value of the exports, making a net gain of \$12,000,000 in the territory's trade balance for the year. From foreign countries the imports decreased \$780,000, Great Britain, the British colonies, and Japan all showing smaller shipments to Hawaii, while the German trade gained considerably. These changes also affect foreign transportation, there being a corresponding decline in the British and Japanese tonnage entering Hawaiian ports. In Hawaii's trade with the mainland there has been a decrease of \$280,000, in the value of goods imported; on the other hand, the value of the exports to the mainland has gained by nearly \$11,000,000—from \$25,133,533 up to \$36,114,985—nearly the whole of which can be attributed to the higher price paid for sugar.

In the 1904 fiscal year the quantity of sugar exported was 736,491,992 pounds, worth \$24,359,385, an average of 3.30 cents per pound. For the 1905 fiscal year the quantity of sugar exported amounted to 832,721,287 pounds, worth \$35,112,127. The average price of the raw sugar exported last year was 4.187 cents per pound, an increase of 0.887 cent over the previous year. But in the last year's sugar trade there were also shipped to San Francisco 21,118,058 pounds of refined sugar, worth \$1,166,091, an average of 5.52 cents per pound. This was an export price of 1.333 cents per pound higher than the export price of the raw sugar.

While there was very little difference in the quantity and value of

coffee shipped to the mainland in 1904 and 1905, the quantity of rice exported increased from 39,911 pounds in 1904 up to 2,771,083 pounds in the latter year. The value of the fruit exported last year showed a gain of \$66,000, and of honey, \$7,600. There has been a falling off in the quantity of hides, partially due, no doubt, to the establishment of the tannery in Honolulu, but at the same time the value of hides has increased.

Hawaii's First Foreign Trade.—Despite the fact that King Sugar and the United States seem now to be pre-eminent features of the commerce of Hawaii, the story of its trade with foreign parts is a series of striking moving pictures. The fragrance of the delicate sandalwood hovers around its origin, and although from the latter part of the eighteenth century until 1843 about a million dollars' worth had been exported by the various chiefs of the islands, it is said that, in weight, only about 133 pounds had left their shores for Canton and other cities of the Asiatic mainland. So highly valued was the wood by the royalty of Asia and Europe that, in the early part of the nineteenth century, King Kamehameha I personally engaged in the traffic, like any modern captain of industry. In his royal canoe, seventy-five feet in length, manned by one hundred brawny natives, he would shoot out into the harbor of Honolulu, and, with sword in hand, draw alongside the trading vessels awaiting him. At that time he was the only pilot in the harbor and a very important person.

From the proceeds of the sandalwood trade the king and his sub-chiefs were able to dress in imported silks and velvets, and eat from cut glass and fine china. Kamehameha bought vessels for his fleet, armed them with cannon, and visited Europe as a haughty potentate of the Pacific isles. But one thing was lacking; even in his day he craved a monopoly of the trade, and for that purpose determined to deal directly with the buyers of sandalwood and eschew the services of the traders,

or middlemen. So he sent a vessel to Canton loaded with the precious stuff; but it was manned and commanded by designing whites, who were opposed to this royal interference, and when they brought his vessel again to Honolulu they presented the king, as the proceeds of the venture, a bill of \$3,000 for wharfage and harbor fees and pilot charges abroad. Although the principal lost on his sandalwood, the experience set him to thinking, and for some years thereafter he charged all traders \$60 for an anchorage in the outer harbor, \$80 for one in the inner and a pilot fee of \$1 per foot draft. These fees stood until the visit of Lord Byron, in 1825, who came in command of H. M. S. "Blondo," bearing the remains of King Liliho and his queen, who had died during their visit to England.

Beginning of Sugar Production and Exportation.—Captain Cook found sugar cane in the Hawaiian islands in 1777, and for many years it was eaten at home and shipped abroad, in that form. In 1803 a Chinaman is said to have raised a crop, and ground some of it in a stone mill, and in 1817 a Spaniard named Manini made molasses from the cane, and two years later, sugar. In 1823 an Italian by the name of Lavinia made sugar in Honolulu by pounding the cane with stone beaters on boards, and boiling the juice in a small copper kettle. Others experimented, and by 1828 sufficient sugar and molasses was produced for local consumption. In the late twenties an Englishman started a sugar cane plantation of 100 acres in Manoa valley, Honolulu, and as the enterprise threatened to be a failure under ordinary conditions, Governor Boki, under whose patronage it originated, attempted to make rum from the product; but his attempt to establish the new industry was vetoed by Queen Kaahumanu.

The first attempt to produce sugar on a large scale was by Ladd & Co., in 1835, to whom land was granted by the government for the purpose at Koloa, Kauai. The first mill was a wooden one, an iron one

being substituted in 1837. At that time there were about twenty-two mills in operation in the islands, twenty being propelled by animal power and two by water.

Birth of the Export Trade.—In the early forties sugar commenced to be exported in small quantities, and by 1843 the outgo had reached 500 tons. This amount diminished in later years, while the exports of molasses and syrup increased. In 1851 the exports of the three products of the cane were as follows: Sugar, 162 tons; molasses, 32,000 gallons; syrup, 94,000 gallons. The price of sugar was usually very high during these early years, reaching twenty cents a pound during the period of excitement and stimulation caused by the gold discoveries of the California coast.

The rush of gold seekers to California and of farmers to Oregon, in the late forties and early fifties, was a great stimulant to the export trade of Hawaii. The first shipment of coffee had been sent out as early as 1845, and in 1849, the year of the Discovery, 158 barrels of beef were exported. In 1855 flour was added to the list. The cultivation of rice, which for many years has been a leading article of export, was begun in the vicinity of Honolulu in 1858, the Chinese immigrants, naturally transporting this industry from the Flowery Land.

Rise and Fall of the Whaling Industry.—Fifty years ago, when the sandalwood supply had been exhausted and the export trade of sugar was yet in its weak infancy, Honolulu was the great entrepot for all the whalers of the Pacific and Arctic oceans. Their harvest was taken during the six months of the year when they were cruising in the Arctic ocean and the Sea of Okhotsk. Then with vessels loaded with oil to the gunwales they would make Honolulu to "patch up," tranship to the United States or Europe, receive their money from commercial agents, "stock up" and have a general jollification ashore.

Those were flush and joyous times for Honolulu. These jolly and

generous master mariners were expected to make the port twice a year, and the home merchants filled their stores and warehouses to overflowing in anticipation of their coming. The captains and mates generally lived ashore during their stay, and happy the families that could secure them as boarders; for not only would the prosperous and whole-souled men fill the pockets of the merchants in exchange for regular purchases, but they would fill the households which were their temporary homes with gold coins, rare trinkets, and pretty cloth for dresses. During these periodical visits of the whaling mariners every form of amusement which could be devised was presented, and upon several occasions minstrels, theatrical troupes and circuses were brought from the Pacific coast to Honolulu by enterprising Yankee sea captains, for the profitable entertainment of the visitors. It should be stated that these whalers also brought to Honolulu the first Japanese art goods and the dainty silks of China.

The first whaler entered the beautiful harbor in 1820, but the height of the industry was a few years before the Civil war, when sometimes as many as two hundred vessels would be jammed and grinding together at one anchorage. In 1859 the number of whalers touching at the various island ports was 549, some of which flew the Hawaiian flag. The highest point in the transshipment of oil and bone was from 1851 to 1859, when the amount of oil collected reached more than 3,000,000 gallons per season, and whalebone was exported to the extent of 7,000 tons.

The decline of the industry dates from the raids upon the whalers by Confederate privateers during the Civil war. It is true that with oil at \$1.65 a gallon and whalebone at \$2.40 a pound, fortunes were often made in a single voyage by the fortunate captains who made port; but the climax of the misfortunes which overtook so many was reached at the close of the war when the Confederate steamer "Shenandoah" de-

stroyed a considerable portion of the Arctic fleet. These vessels were never rebuilt. It was the death-blow to the whalers which frequented Honolulu. Ten years ago the visitors had dwindled to five, and now they are so rare as to be a curiosity.

General Commercial Development.—From 1847 the whalers had been given free anchorage, and in 1854 Honolulu was made a free port for merchant vessels. A steam tug was now installed to tow vessels through the harbor entrance, dredging was commenced to deepen the channels, and altogether the prospects were quite metropolitan. At this time the whaling industry was rapidly growing, while that of sugar was about stationary, but cut no real figure either as an industry or a trade feature. On account of the difficulty of irrigation, the cultivation of the cane was uncertain and the mechanisms employed in the manufacturing processes were of the crudest character. Until the invention of the centrifugal in 1851, all sugar had been manufactured by draining the molasses through brush placed in the bottom of boxes, the residue being usually dark and soggy. The centrifugal insured a dryer article, but failure to irrigate and raise the cane brought the industry to a very low ebb in the late fifties. In 1857 there were only five plantations in the Hawaiian islands—Koloa and Lihue, on Kauai; East Maui and Brewer's, on Maui, and Aiko's, at Hilo, Hawaii.

As the Civil war marked the death of the whaling industry, so it gave the first impetus to the sugar trade. Notwithstanding the adoption of the centrifugal and a general improvement in manufacturing machinery, the sugar cane was still cultivated under great difficulties. The land chiefly available for that purpose is on the foothills and along the sea shore. Water from the mountain streams had been used for irrigation from time immemorial, but it often happened that the choicest lands were far away from such supplies, and, on account of the rough condition of the country—broken by mountains and deep gorges—it was dif-

ficult and expensive to dig ditches. So that by 1859, after the home demand for sugar had been met, only 913 tons were available for export, and in 1860 the amount had dropped to 722 tons. But with the outbreak of the Civil war and the cessation of the supply from the Southern States, all was changed. Prices went up, and the exports from Hawaii increased from 1,283 tons in 1861 to 8,869 tons in 1866.

By the latter part of 1861 the number of plantations had increased to twenty-two, new and improved machinery was everywhere introduced and a sugar refinery was established in Honolulu.

After the war came a reaction. Labor was scarce and its importation expensive; interest and selling commissions were exorbitant, and, to cap the commercial discouragements of Hawaii, the import duties adopted by the United States to protect home industries virtually barred out Hawaiian sugar. The only hope for the sugar trade and commerce generally was reciprocity with America, and with this accomplished, in 1876, her substantial standing as a producer and exporter was assured. The reciprocity treaty of that year marks the second stage in the development of that industry and the general commerce of Hawaii.

In 1875 the export of sugar was 12,540 tons, and represented the largest crop produced in the islands up to that time. The plantations were as follows: On the island of Hawaii—Spencer's, Kaupakuea, Onomea, Hilo and Kohala; on the island of Maui, Lahaina, Wai Luku, E. Bailey, Waikapu, Waihee, Grove Ranch, East Maui, Haiku, Paia and Hana; on the island of Oahu, the Waialua plantation under the ownership of Levy Chamberlain, and Kaneohe; on Kauai, the Koloa, Lihue and Princeville plantations. During this banner sugar year prices ranged from $7\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound.

By the end of the fiscal year 1877 it was possible to make a general comparison with 1875 and note the splendid effects of reciprocity upon

the commerce of the islands as a whole. In 1875 the imports had been \$1,505,670 and in 1877 they were \$2,554,356; exports, \$2,980,736 in 1875, and \$3,676,203 two years thereafter.

In the late seventies the first artesian wells were bored at Honouliuli and Honolulu, and this was followed by the discovery of other underground supplies in other parts of the territory. There are now between 400 and 500 artesian wells in Hawaii, averaging 600 feet in depth, and these, with various impounding reservoirs, flumes and ditches, constitute the basis of irrigation and the water supply of the cities and towns. Most of the plantations have pumping stations and reservoirs, there being a large increase in these facilities within the past decade. It is estimated that these reservoirs have an approximate capacity of 8,000,000,000 gallons.

The total exports from Honolulu in 1890 amounted in value to \$9,784,434, in comparison with a total export from all Hawaiian ports of less than \$5,000,000 in 1880, while imports to the amount of \$6,962,201 were passed through the customs house. Among the exports were 129,899 tons of sugar, 10,579,000 pounds of rice and 88,593 pounds of coffee.

During the first five years of the closing decade of the past century the export trade of the country fell off to a considerable extent, due partially to the unsettled political conditions prevailing and the consequent stringency in the local money market for local enterprises. From 1889 to 1895 the total exports dropped from \$13,000,000 to \$8,000,000, while imports remained almost stationary around the \$5,000,000 mark.

Coffee exports rose from 3,051 pounds in 1891 to 118,755 in 1895, and pineapples, which figured among the exports for the first time in '91, figured at 65,212 five years later.

A large increase in all lines came in 1896, the total exports jumping to \$15,515,230, nearly double the value of the previous year. Sugar

increased from 229,000,000 pounds to 443,000,000 pounds, and coffee, rice, bananas, hides and pineapples showed an equally gratifying increase. Seven vessels were added to the fleet registered under the Hawaiian flag, which now totalled 59. This prosperity was reflected in the growth of Honolulu and the expansion of the business establishments of the city.

The sugar crop of 1897-8, the last before annexation, amounted to 229,000 tons. By 1901 it had reached 360,000 tons, and in 1903 it was 437,991 tons, the largest crop up to date. Insect pests and cane diseases have reduced the tonnage of subsequent crops, but these are being overcome, and, if labor is available, the 500,000 ton mark will be touched within a few years.

The effect of annexation was to establish confidence both in a stable government and a stable market. Some twenty new plantations were started, and the old ones expanded to their utmost. But although some of the planters failed because their ambition far outran their capital, on the whole they were on a solid foundation, and the sugar industry was never on a better basis than at present. With the marked advance in improved machinery, irrigation and scientific fertilization of the soil, its substantial future is assured.

According to "The Pacific Commercial Advertiser," there were in 1905 fifty-five sugar plantations in the Hawaiian islands, divided as follows: Hawaii, twenty-seven plantations, with a production of 126,000 tons; island of Oahu, nine, with a production of 113,000 tons; Maui, eight, with a production of 101,000 tons, and Kauai, eleven, with a production of 76,000 tons. On January 1, 1906, there were 44,949 laborers on the sugar plantations, and it is said there is a demand for several thousand more.

Until recently the bulk of the Hawaiian sugar crop has been exported in a raw state. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to

establish refineries in Honolulu and in California, and in April, 1906, the Hawaiian planters commenced the operation of a refining plant at Crockett, San Francisco bay.

Live-Stock Products.—For more than sixty years hides, tallow, goat skins and wool have been exported from Hawaii, although the wool trade had not reached sufficient importance to be recorded in figures until about 1853. Until the late seventies the exports of goat skins far exceeded those of hides, and since that period there has been such a falling off of the former that they are no longer enumerated as a separate item. Hawaii has always been the great live-stock island. It is estimated that the entire archipelago has 132,720 cattle, 90,750 sheep and 19,694 horses, and of these numbers the island of Hawaii is credited with 74,283 cattle, 7,804 horses and 29,437 sheep. The largest ranches are here, and the most important shipping point for cattle, sheep, beef, mutton, wool and the products of stock generally is Kawaihae. An idea of the growth of this branch of the territorial commerce is given by the following table showing the exports of the several items, mainly by decades:

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Hides.</i>	<i>Tallow, Lbs.</i>	<i>Goat Skins</i>	<i>Wool, Lbs.</i>
1844-1853.....	20,540	73,856	245,862	12,824
1860-1870.....	118,637	1,635,940	491,696	1,765,002
1870-1880.....	209,082	3,294,036	565,497	4,068,131
1880-1890.....	261,447	630,000	207,138	4,137,642
1890-1900.....	241,860	338,698	71,078	2,560,785

In 1905 the exports of hides and skins amounted to 899,963 pounds, and of wool, to 423,114.

Other Commercial Products.—It has been estimated that the Hawaiian islands have half a million acres which might be devoted to coffee culture. Although coffee is already one of the main exports, the industry is comparatively small and is greatly handicapped by the fact



Avenue of Palms

Princess Kam
Packing Pine Apples

Grass Hut

that Brazil, Mexico and Central America, the chief sources of supply for the free American market, can produce the berry considerably cheaper than the coffee planters of Hawaii.

Pears, guava, bread fruit, apples, cherries, plums, dates, grape fruit, mangoes, lemons, oranges, pineapples and bananas have all been cultivated in the Hawaiian islands, but the only fruits which really promise to become valuable commercially are bananas, pineapples and pears. The banana takes the lead, the variety generally exported being the Chinese. The raising of pineapples has become quite a thriving business, some of the finest plantations lying between Honolulu and Waialua. The Alligator pear is the most famous variety, and takes its name from its general shape and its purple and green colors. Hilo and Lahaina enjoy the reputation of having the finest orchards.

In 1905 Hawaii produced over 600 tons of honey and ten tons of beeswax, which were exported to the mainland and London markets. As bee plants are abundant, apiaries are rapidly increasing, their most favorable location being along the coasts.

For the past seventy years various experiments have been made in the cultivation of the silk worm, some of the early ones being undertaken on quite an expensive scale. In 1844 nearly 200 pounds of raw silk were exported, but the industry is now mostly confined to investigations by the Hawaiian Experiment Station. It is believed by many that there is a good field in Hawaii for the cultivation of the rubber industry, and also that the sisal plant, now virtually a Yucatan monopoly, will be made commercially valuable as a successful fiber competitor with the well known manila.

GOVERNORS OF THE TERRITORY.

Sanford B. Dole and George R. Carter, who have served as governors of Hawaii territory (the latter still in office), are both natives of Honolulu, and able lawyers who received their professional education in the United States. There they imbibed that American spirit of enterprise and progress which has prompted them to steadfastly keep in mind both the material development of Hawaii and the establishment and maintenance of modern and stable forms of government. Judge Dole is twenty years the senior of his successor to the governorship, and is considered one of the chief founders of the territory.

Sanford Ballard Dole was born in Honolulu, H. T., on the 23d of April, 1844. He studied law in Boston, was admitted to the bar in 1873, and during the same year returned to Honolulu. He arrived during that period of great unrest and uncertainty succeeding the election of the consumptive Lunalilo to the throne, which was followed by the inauguration of reciprocity dealings with the United States and the revolution of the household guards. Within a year came the death of the king, and the election of the stately and ambitious Kalakaua, with the accompanying train of royal journeys abroad, attempted organization of a royal navy and the foundation of a Pacific empire, all at the expense of good home government. The residents of Honolulu and Oahu were especially dissatisfied with the condition of affairs, and in 1887 organized a league for the promulgation of good government. Judge Dole had already served a term in the legislature (1884), and was naturally one of the most prominent leaders in the proposed reforms. Notwithstanding his well known attitude, he was popular with the



Prince Kalanianaʻole (Delegate to Congress, 1904-1906)

conservatives, and in 1887 had been appointed associate judge of the Supreme Court. He resigned that position, however, to accept the leadership of the revolution, which was launched in that year, and, at the expense of some bloodshed, succeeded in forcing a fair constitution from King Kalakaua. After his death in 1891, the republican movement took rapid strides, and Judge Dole became the most prominent character in the islands. Although Queen Liliukalani granted a new constitution January 14, 1893, it was so far from satisfactory that three days afterward a provisional government was proclaimed with Judge Dole as President. Then followed the journey of the Hawaiian commissioners to Washington, the acceptance of their annexation proffer by President Harrison, and its rejection by President Cleveland; the dispatch to Honolulu of Special Envoy Blount and U. S. Minister Harris, and the refusal by Judge Dole to transfer the provisional government into the hands of the latter. The matter was not pressed on the part of the United States, the constitutional convention of Hawaii proclaimed the republic on July 4, 1894, and the voters elected Mr. Dole to the presidency in the following October. The natives generally refused to participate in the election. In the meantime the revolution of the royalists had been thwarted, and since then the government has been stable and progressive, the chief events having been the new treaty with the United States in 1897, annexation in 1898, and the creation of the territory in 1900, with Judge Dole as its first governor.

George R. Carter, present governor of Hawaii, was born in Honolulu in the year 1866. He received his higher education at Phillips-Andover College and Yale University, and in 1891 was appointed Hawaiian consul at Seattle, Wash. In 1896, after the promulgation of the republic, he returned to Honolulu, and in 1903 President Roosevelt appointed him to the governorship of the territory.

JOHN ADAMS CUMMINS.

One of the most interesting figures in the Hawaiian Islands and one who has oftentimes been designated as a prince of entertainers and the entertainer of princes is John Adams Cummins, the subject of this sketch. His life history reads almost like a romance and the interesting events that have transpired from the date of his birth in which he has been intimately associated would fill a volume. It would be, however, impossible in this brief sketch to give more than a mere outline of the most interesting facts connected with his life. He is a native of Honolulu, born in that city in 1834. His father was born in Lancashire, England, in 1802; and shortly after his birth, in 1802, moved to Roxbury, Mass. He came to the islands in 1828, and for two years worked for Piers and Hanwall, but deciding to enter business for himself he returned to Boston and purchased a stock of ship chandlery, with which he returned to the islands. He opened business on his own account in the year 1832, and continued in it up to the year 1849, at which period his wife died. He was the first man to import fine breeds of cattle and horses from England and America to the islands. He died in Honolulu at the age of 83. At one time he was the owner of a number of whaling vessels plying between the Arctic, Honolulu, and New York; he also owned other vessels plying between Honolulu and Boston. He owned the Waimanalo Plantation on Oahu. In 1849 he left the islands and went abroad to settle up his estates there, and when he returned he engaged in the stock business.

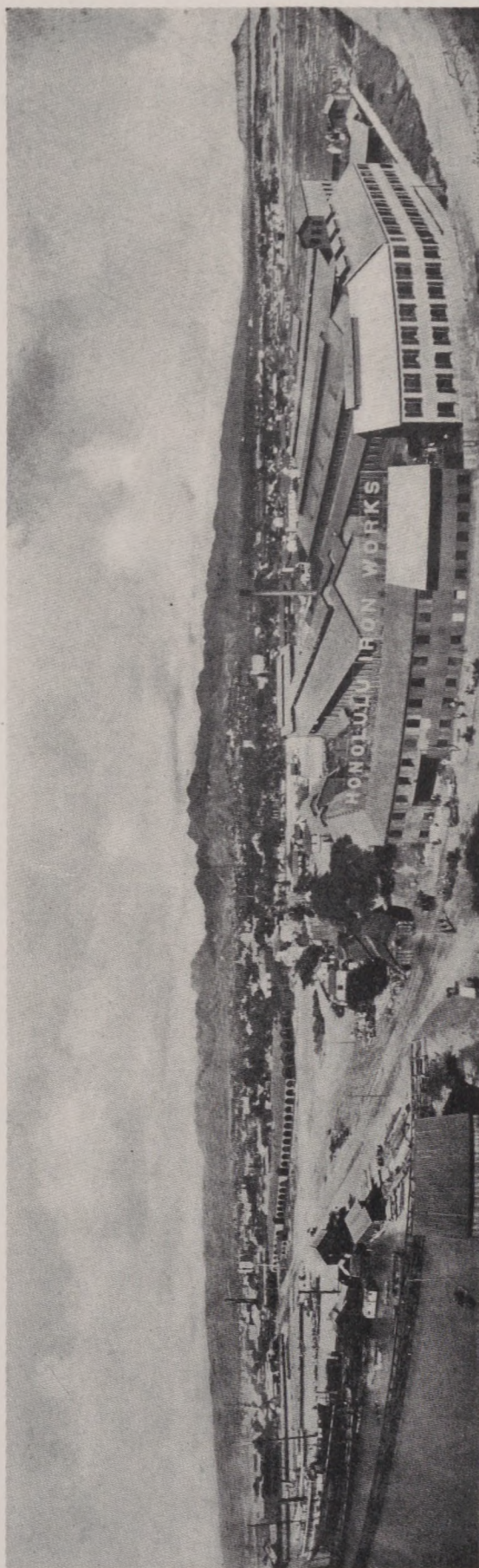
Mr. Cummins of this review attended the Royal School of Honolulu for one year, before that however he had attended the Charity School



J. A. Cummings

taught by a Mr. Johnston, afterwards taught by a Mr. Studson. The Royal was taught by a Mr. Fuller. After finishing his education he went on the ranch with his father, remaining there until 1855, when he became the manager of the property. He remained there until 1878, at which time he started the cultivation of sugar, continuing this until 1896, when he sold out his interest and retired from active pursuits. Mr. Cummins can trace his lineage back to Kamehameha I. He was a close friend of Kamehameha III, and the king's sons were his schoolmates and comrades, all of whom are now dead. Several of the queens were schoolmates of his. He was commissioner of the Paris Exposition in 1889, and he was also Minister of Foreign Affairs under King Kalakaua. While his father lived he always disapproved of his allying himself to royalty. He was married in 1863 to Miss Kahalewai of Honolulu. Five children were born unto this union, the oldest being Kaumakaokane, born August 28, 1863. The next was Piikea, born in 1864. The next was Kaimilani, born in 1867, now deceased. The next was Thomas Pualii, born in 1869, and the last Aolani, born in 1874. The mother died in 1902. Mr. Cummins was again married to Miss Kapeka Mersburg on October 29, 1903, in Honolulu. He now resides in a beautiful home on the corner of Alexander and Bingham streets. Mr. Cummins educated all his children in the United States, and he has traveled through the whole of Europe and America. His family are all highly cultured and are most interesting in conversation, as they have all traveled extensively. He always worked for the best interests of his people and of the islands, and the effect of his work has been far-reaching. He was one of the intimate friends of King Kalakaua and when the dead king's remains were brought back to Honolulu he took entire charge of the funeral, and conveyed him to his last resting place in the Royal Mausoleum. During King Kalakaua's reign he was Prime Minister. While he was managing the ranch for his father he took an active

interest in introducing blooded stock on the islands; and he took the premiums for over 30 years. Mr. Cummins was a member of the old fire department No. 1, and also a member of the Honolulu Rifles during the reign of Alexander Kamehameha. To show their appreciation of Mr. Cummins his friends in Boston presented him with a 10-ton pilot boat, in which he has cruised to every port and inlet on the islands and there is to-day on the islands no man who understands the harbors as well as he does. He is a great lover of sports and one of its most earnest supporters. He owns the Cummins Block, one of the finest in the city, six houses on Beretania street, thirteen acres in Nuuanu, and he has a large interest in the Waimanalo Plantation. One of his pleasant recollections is when he visited England and called upon the Duke of Edinburgh. The Duke was sick at the time he called and could not be seen, but he furnished Mr. Cummins with his royal carriage in return for the hospitality shown him by Mr. Cummins while he was visiting the islands. He has given each of his children a handsome start in life, only retaining enough to live in comfort the rest of his days. Mr. Cummins is well known by most of the noted men who have visited the islands, as he has always shown them the greatest hospitality and they have all left with the most pleasant recollections of him. It is the same with him to-day as it always was. He practically keeps open house, and his old time friends and acquaintances delight to visit him there; and many a happy hour is spent in talking over old times and reviewing the deeds that have passed. He is noted as being the soul of liberality, and no needy person ever applied to him and went away empty-handed. To-day there is no man on the islands better known, or more highly respected, or dearer to the hearts of his friends than the subject of this sketch—John Adams Cummins.



Panoramic View of the Honolulu Iron Works

MR. C. HEDEMANN.

The subject of this sketch represents the largest manufacturing institution in the Hawaiian Islands, outside of the sugar industry. Mr. C. Hedemann was born in 1852 in Flensburg, Schleswig, then a part of Denmark, where his father was a noted army surgeon. He received a college and professional education as a mechanical engineer in Copenhagen, served his time as a machinist, passed the government examination as Class A marine engineer, and worked as a draughtsman for several years with the large machine and shipbuilding firm, Burmeister & Wain, Copenhagen.

Mr. Hedemann came direct to the islands in May, 1878, engaged by the Danish consul, Mr. A. Unna, as his sugar mill superintendent and engineer at Hana Plantation, Maui. He left that employment in July, 1884, to take the position of draughtsman with the Honolulu Iron Works Co. On February 17, 1890, he was appointed assistant manager, and when Mr. Alexander Young retired from the general management in February, 1896, Mr. Hedemann succeeded him as manager and has ever since held the position.

There are few people in the islands who have had the opportunity of Mr. Hedemann to follow closely the gradual development of the sugar industry for the 27 years he has been uninterruptedly identified with it, and the exceptionally high standard of the Hawaiian sugar mill work is to a great extent due to the untiring efforts of the Honolulu Iron Works Co.

Mr. Hedemann has traveled very extensively. Besides yearly business trips to the eastern cities, purchasing machinery and material, he has visited a number of Louisiana plantations on two occasions, besides Cuba in 1900. With his wife and two children in 1902 he made a tour of the world, visiting beet sugar factories and refineries in America,

England, Denmark and Germany, also a number of the best plantations in Java, besides the Philippine Islands, China and Japan.

Mr. Hedemann is a trustee of the Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (for the past two years chairman of its committee on machinery), an honorary member of the Honolulu Engineering Association, etc. He was married in Denmark in 1878, his wife accompanying him the same year to the islands. Mr. and Mrs. Hedemann have seven children—six sons and one daughter—all born in the Hawaiian Islands. While the two youngest are at the home in Honolulu, five boys are being educated in the States. The eldest, a graduate of Harvard, is studying medicine in New York. One is studying mechanical engineering at Stanford University, two are employed in San Francisco hardware business houses and one is in a California high school.

The Honolulu Iron Works were established in 1853 by Mr. D. M. Weston, the inventor of the suspended centrifugal machine, first made in Honolulu. Having passed into the control of Messrs. Theo. H. Davies & Co., the works were incorporated as a stock company in December, 1866. In 1896 the enterprise was re-incorporated and new and extensive works were built and fitted with the most modern labor-saving machinery. The works comprise machine shops, iron and brass foundries, smith's and coppersmith's shops, spacious boiler and pipe shops, pattern and carpenter shops, drawing rooms, offices and warehouses, occupying an area of six and a half acres situated near the harbor front. The main offices and store departments for engineering supplies and metal material are located in Nuuanu street, Honolulu, occupying about two acres of ground.

As many as 600 men have at times been employed, but the introduction of labor-saving machinery has reduced this number. Five of the largest cane sugar factories in the world have been designed and fur-

nished by the Honolulu Iron Works Co., and the large majority of all the sugar machinery used by the Hawaiian plantations has been built by the company in Honolulu. The volume of yearly business has steadily increased with the progress of the sugar industry in Hawaii and the excellence of the H. I. W. Co.'s machinery has successfully defeated nearly all foreign competition in that line.

CLAUS SPRECKELS & CO., BANKERS.

This is a co-partnership of Claus Spreckels and W. G. Irwin. The bank was established May 5, 1885. Capital stock was \$50,000. They do a general banking business and have correspondence throughout the world, see advertisement. This is the second oldest bank in the islands.

Both Mr. Spreckels and Mr. Irwin have large sugar interests on the islands, and opened this bank as an adjunct to that business interest. It has developed an enormously large and profitable business, and has furnished a large amount of capital for developing the resources of the islands, and for handling large loans and securities at various times.

Mr. Edward Irwin Spalding, who is the resident manager, was born in Honolulu June, 1854, and was educated in the state of Massachusetts. After finishing his education he entered the paymaster's department of the United States Navy; leaving the navy, he came to the islands and entered into the mercantile business with Mr. Irwin, who is his uncle; and in 1885 he became associated with the banking business of Spreckels and Irwin as assistant cashier, and was advanced to the position of cashier, which he is at the present time. His father, J. C. Spalding, was engaged in the ship chandlery business in Honolulu, but left here in 1862 to engage as assistant paymaster of the federal navy service on the Mississippi River. His mother is now a resident of New Hampshire.

The following details will give the reader a more comprehensive idea of the business, showing their correspondents throughout the world;

San Francisco Agents The Nevada National Bank of San Francisco Draw Exchange on San Francisco, The Nevada National Bank of San Francisco. London, Union of London & Smith's Bank Ltd. New York, American Exchange National Bank. Chicago, Corn Exchange National Bank. Paris, Credit Lyonnais. Berlin, Dresdner Bank. Hongkong and Yokohama, The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. New Zealand and Australia, Bank of New Zealand, and Bank of Australasia. Victoria and Vancouver, Bank of British North America.

Transact a general banking and exchange business. Deposits received. Loans made on approved security. Commercial and travelers' credits issued, bills of exchange bought and sold. Collections promptly accounted for.

THE BANK OF HAWAII, LIMITED.

This bank was established Dec. 27, 1897, with a capital of \$300,000, and was the first incorporated bank in the islands, being organized under the banking laws of the Hawaiian Republic.

The capital was soon found to be insufficient for the business and has been increased from time to time until they now have \$600,000 paid up capital and \$286,000 surplus and undivided profits.

This bank occupies almost the entire ground floor of the Judd building, one of the finest up-to-date structures in the city, and its appointments and fittings will rival those of cities with ten times the population of Honolulu.

Their principal correspondents are Wells Fargo & Co.'s Bank, New York and San Francisco, and their connections throughout the world. In the Orient they are represented by the Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation and all its branches, and in Europe by Glyn Mills Currie & Co., London, Societe Generale, Paris, and the Deutsche Bank, Berlin.



Eng By Henry Taylor in Chicago

Paul W. Lumberg



PAUL ISENBERG

They are represented on each of the principal islands of the group and last year a branch was established on the Island of Kauai.

The bank is one of the largest purchasers of bonds, and has placed some of the best issues of plantation bonds offered in this market.

The directors are among the most substantial and leading business men of the islands. The officers and directors are as follows: Chas. M. Cooke, President; P. C. Jones, Vice President; F. W. Macfarlane, Second Vice President; C. H. Cooke, Cashier; C. Hustace, Jr., Assistant Cashier. Directors: Chas. M. Cooke, F. W. Macfarlane, E. D. Tenney, J. A. McCandless, E. F. Bishop, C. H. Atherton and C. H. Cooke.

SENATOR PAUL R. ISENBERG.

It may be truly said of the subject of this sketch, Senator Paul R. Isenberg, that he is a worthy son of a worthy sire. His father, Paul Isenberg, was one of the islands' most progressive, energetic and successful citizens, and though he has passed beyond this world's recall, his kindness and generosity toward those who were less fortunate than himself has made his memory dear to all Hawaiians and his name is often mentioned with moistened eyes by many for whom he did some kindly deed.

Senator Paul R. Isenberg was born at Lihue on the island of Kauai June 11, 1866. At the age of six years he entered St. Alban's College in Honolulu, where he took a five years' preliminary course, after which he went to his uncle in Germany preparatory to entering Braunschweig, a school for boys. He remained here one and a half years and then entered college at Bremen, where a five years' course completed his education. Now had young Isenberg's character been as that of most boys his only desire would have been to return to his home and enjoy life upon his father's bounty, but such a thought had not for an instant possessed his mind and with the energy which has ever since been one of

his marked characteristics he at once set forth to acquire the practical knowledge of a business education and to carve out a career for himself in the commercial world. How well he has succeeded may be judged by the facts which follow: He spent two years of hard and arduous labor upon a sugar-beet plantation, where he mastered all of the details of that business from the planting of the beet until it reached the refinery and was turned out in those beautiful, white, sparkling cubes for the market. To complete his knowledge of the sugar industry he took a course of one year in a sugar factory and then returned to Braunschweig and entered the school of Pharmacy, conducted by Professors Freuhling and Schultze. After completing his pharmacological studies he returned in October, 1887, to the islands, and without delay took a position on the Lihue plantation, where he remained for one year, at the expiration of which time he accepted a position from Albert Wilcox on the island of Kauai, where he remained for six months. In 1889 at the age of twenty-three (the early dawning of his manhood) we find Mr. Isenberg in Honolulu, the metropolis of the islands, with a mind abundantly stored with both literary and practical knowledge, backed with a desire and will to enter the battle of life, and apply it to a successful purpose. After casting about and after due consideration he purchased his beautiful ranch at Waialae, where he resided till 1898, when he removed to Honolulu. Under the Republic he was a member of President Dole's council of state. In 1902 he received the nomination on the Republican ticket for Senator of the Territory of Hawaii and was elected by an overwhelmingly larger majority than any other candidate in the field. At the expiration of his term in 1906 it is predicted by those who are in a position to know that should he accept the nomination it would be equivalent to his election. He is a high and honored member of the order of Masons. He is president of the McBryde Sugar Co., president of the Dairymen's Association,

vice president of the Lihue Plantation, president of the Hawaiian Jockey Club, president of the Hawaiian baseball league, and a member of the Chamber of Commerce. He was one of the first and few to successfully demonstrate the cultivation of alfalfa upon the islands, and at his ranch at Waialae he has a field of 70 acres from which he harvests from 13 to 15 crops a year, a fact which would require ocular proof to convince a farmer in the States of its truthfulness. Upon this princely estate the Senator also conducts one of the largest, most complete and perfectly equipped dairies on the islands. He has 230 fine bred and healthy milch cows, which roam lazily about through a forest of coconut and algaroba trees, and their shining coats have the appearance of having been regularly washed and groomed.

The Senator is a great lover of standard bred horses and he has the proud distinction of owning and having bred Creola and Thelma, the two horses which hold the pacing records of the islands. Creola is five years old and has a record of 2.18, and Thelma, seven years old, has a record of 2.26. It may be said of the Senator that he is a lover of animals of all kinds and amongst his special favorites may be seen many fine bred dogs, which have been imported from various parts of the world, whose value can only be appreciated by a true sportsman.

The Senator was married in October, 1891, to Miss Annie McBryde, the charming and accomplished daughter of one of Kauai's oldest families, and while no children have been born to them to bless their happy union, their lives in every other respect are that of devotional love and domestic contentment. They have a palatial residence in Honolulu on Pensacola street, where they reside most of their time, but when weary and worn from social and business cares they retire to their country home at Waialae, by the sea. Here among a wilderness of cocoanut palms which have stood nearly three centuries of silent sentry, and whose tall tops seem to look down with lofty contempt upon the

lesser things below, and who seem ever nodding and beckoning to this sequestered spot, a something from far out at sea, which never comes; here in the hush of Nature's own paradise listening to Ocean's lullaby the Senator and his wife spend many hours in peaceful respite from the world's cares. The quiet and restful spirit pervading the atmosphere of this lovely haven suggests those beautiful lines from Thomas Moore:

“And I saw by the smoke that so gracefully curled above the tall elms
that a cottage was near,
And I said, If there's peace in this world to be found a heart that is
humble might look for it here.”

WILDER'S S. S. COMPANY.

Previous to the Reciprocity Treaty most of the transportation business between the Hawaiian Islands was carried on by schooners, the one exception being the steamer Kilauea, owned by the Hawaiian Government, her management being placed in the hands of Mr. S. G. Wilder. The passing of the treaty was a great stimulus to business in the islands, and to accommodate the increased passenger and freight traffic the steamer Likelike, 595 tons, was built in 1877.

The steamship business had originally been undertaken by the Government, through the fact that it was so unprofitable it was impossible for it to be carried on under private ownership; but as soon as the business became apparently self-supporting the government offered the Likelike for sale and she was purchased by Mr. Wilder. The Kilauea, being unseaworthy, was at this time broken up. Mr. Wilder, foreseeing the necessity for providing more vessels, in 1878 built the Mokolii, 72 tons, and in 1879 the Lehua, 176 tons. In 1882 Hon. Claus Spreckels in contracting for the steamers Alameda and Mariposa also arranged for the building of an iron steamer, the Kinau, 975 tons. In 1883 Mr. Wilder incorporated Wilder's S. S. Company, capital \$400,000,

and purchased the Kinau. The S. S. Kilauea Hou, 209 tons, was purchased in 1884 and the capital increased to \$450,000. In 1889 the steamer Hawaii, 302 tons, was purchased. The Claudine, 840 tons, was built in 1890 and the capital stock increased to \$500,000; the same year the schooner Haleakala was added to the fleet. The Daisy Kimball, 236 tons, was purchased in 1893, but was lost the same year. In 1897 the Likelike was lost and to replace her the steamer Helene, 619 tons, was built. To meet the demands of the ever increasing trade, the steamer Maui, sister ship to the Helene, was also built, and the schooners Golden Gate, 97 tons, and Alice Kimball, 107 tons, were purchased. In 1899 the steamer Kilauea Hou was lost and the Kaiulani, 384 tons, was built to replace her. Both the schooners Golden Gate and Alice Kimball, were lost in 1900. In 1903 the Mokolii was broken up and the following year, to replace her, the steamer Likelike, 350 tons, was built. The fleet at present consists of the following iron and steel vessels, viz.: Kinau, Claudine, Maui, Helene, Likelike, and one wooden vessel, the Kaiulani.

Samuel Gardner Wilder, the founder of this corporation, was born in Massachusetts on the 30th of June, 1831, coming to Honolulu in 1855.

In addition to Wilder's Steamship Company he also established the businesses of Wilder & Company, S. G. Wilder & Company, Ltd., the Hawaiian Railroad Company, and became the purchaser of the Kahului Railroad Company in 1884. At the time of his death in 1888 he had almost completed arrangements for building a railroad which would have extended from Hilo through the Hilo and Hamakua districts, on the Island of Hawaii. Mr. Wilder was a man of marked executive and business ability, and took a foremost place not only in business, but also in politics. He was for many years a member of the House of Nobles, and also of the Privy Council; and under the monarchy was presiding

officer of the legislature for a number of terms. Notwithstanding the many calls made on his time for business and political purposes, he was closely identified with all movements demanding public spirit, and his large-hearted generosity made him a friend to the entire people of the Hawaiian Islands, native and foreign.

HENRY ALEXANDER ISENBERG.

One of the foremost figures on the islands in the line of commercial pursuits is the subject of this sketch, Henry Alexander Isenberg. He is a son of Paul Isenberg. He was born in the islands in 1872 and was sent to Bremen, Germany, to be educated. After leaving college he served in the army for one year and then entered a mercantile establishment, where he remained a short time. He then went to England, also following commercial pursuits there for one year and returned to the islands in 1894. Mr. Isenberg entered the house of H. Hackfeld & Co., Ltd., and is one of the members of the corporation. He is at present the German consul for the islands. Mr. Isenberg is a married man, the lady of his choice being Miss Virginia R. Duisenberg. They have two sons, Rudolf and Alexander, aged four and one-half and two and one-half years respectively.

Mr. Isenberg expects to remain on the islands indefinitely, as his large interests require his personal supervision. He and his wife are prominent socially and Mr. Isenberg is deservedly popular with all the people with whom he comes in contact.

ROBERT LEWERS.

When it can be said of a man that he has lived for nearly a half century in one locality and that during this long span of life he has earned and enjoyed the unbounded respect and honor tendered to the true man and citizen and furthermore during this period no dissenting

voice has been raised against his methods, his honor or his integrity, it certainly demonstrates that these qualities are inborn and that any community would take pride in claiming him for its own. Such a man is Robert Lewers, the subject of this sketch.

Robert Lewers is a native of New York, and was born in the Empire State in 1836, so that he is three score years and ten. He is to-day, however, in the prime of physical and mental manhood and as he comes of a long-lived race, it is only fair to presume that his years will yet be long in the home of his adoption. His father, William Lewers, was born in the north of Ireland and lived to a ripe old age, but the mother, whose maiden name was Mary Low, died when our subject was very young. The father came to the United States in 1816 and settled in New York City, where he resided until his death, which occurred in 1891.

Mr. Lewers of this review was educated in the public schools of New York City and after leaving his text books he entered a bakery to work as errand boy, for which he received the salary of \$4 per month. He remained with this employment about three years, when he left to go on his father's farm in Binghamton, N. Y., where he remained about two years, but in 1855, becoming dissatisfied with this employment and not seeing much of a future in store for him, he embarked on the ship *Raduga* for the Hawaiian Islands, bound here via Cape Horn and arriving here February 21, 1856. His first work on the islands was as a carpenter, which occupation he followed for four years. In 1860 he went into the lumber business as a clerk for Lewers & Dickson and remained with this institution for seventeen years. At this time he was taken into partnership, as was also Mr. C. M. Cooke. When Mr. Dickson died the name of the firm was changed to Lewers & Cooke. Out of that firm grew the present firm, Lewers & Cooke, Ltd. It is the foremost institution of its kind on the islands and an immense stock of

shelf and heavy hardware, iron and steel and in fact all kinds of building material is carried. The house is equipped with every late device known to the business and Mr. Lewers has seen it build up from the time when all lumber, etc., was delivered by hand carts. The building is 154 by 80 and is three stories and basement, being constructed partly of steel and partly of wood and a terra cotta front. The property is worth about \$200,000 and is one of the handsome edifices of Honolulu. About fifty clerks, laborers and draymen are employed. The institution also owns two vessels, the Robert Lewers and the Alice Cooke, both being four-masted schooners. They ply between the islands, Puget Sound and San Francisco, and the Robert Lewers has made several trips to the island of Lysan for guano.

In 1867 Mr. Lewers married Miss Catherine R. Carter, who was born in Honolulu and who is a daughter of Captain J. O. Carter. Her mother was a native of Maine and came from the Pine Tree State to the islands in 1832. Unto Mr. and Mrs. Lewers have been born two children. The son, William H., is 36 years of age and is a noted actor. He has been leading man with such famous actresses as Julia Marlowe, Maude Adams and Lillian Russell. At present he is starring with Bertha Galland. The critics all over the United States all combine in the highest praise of him and predict for him an especially brilliant future. The daughter, Harriet L., is the wife of Arthur Wall of the firm of Wichman & Co., the leading jewelers of Honolulu. Mr. Lewers, besides his extensive business, is largely interested in sugar and is a large operator in this line. He has always been essentially a family man, but is a member of the Masonic fraternity and his life exemplifies the beneficent spirit of the craft. Mr. Lewers has never cared to enter political life, preferring rather to devote his time to his business interests. He has a vivid recollection of the early days in Honolulu and is a most interesting narrator of his early experiences on the islands. As the

spans of life are being numbered he can look backward on a well spent career, one that has been useful to the community which he has for his abiding place and one which can be paralleled by but few men. Honor, faith and a good intent have worked out their natural consequences in his case and Honolulu is justly proud of its representative citizen, Mr. Robert Lewers.

HON. ROBERT W. WILCOX.

The death of the Hawaiian political leader, Robert W. Wilcox, on October 23rd, was a notable event in the history of his country. He died on the field of action, one might say, for the excitement of the fall canvass was almost at its highest then, and the immediate cause of his death was the straining of his physical powers in making speeches for his party. His health began to break down when he was attending to his duties as Territorial Delegate in Washington, and since his return to the islands he had never felt well. The exertions he made in the recent campaign were greater than his weakened constitution could sustain, and on the day of his death he suffered six hemorrhages. His wife and his two little children and a trained nurse were at his bedside in his last hours.

Robert W. Wilcox was idolized by his race. No other man ever had such a firm hold on the hearts of the Hawaiians. Even Kamehameha the Great, greater after death than in life, was not so generally esteemed and revered among his countrymen as Mr. Wilcox. The king had rivals and bitter enemies; Mr. Wilcox had neither rivals nor enemies among Hawaiians and other nationalities.

Hon. Robert W. Wilcox was born February 15, 1855, at Kuhulu, Honuaula, island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands. His father is Mr. Wm. S. Wilcox, a native of Newport, Rhode Island; he was a sea-captain, and is now ninety years old. His mother was Kalua Makoleokalani, a

direct descendant of Lonomakaihonua, brother of King Kaulahea of Maui. The Delegate first went to school at Wailuku at the age of eight years. Two years later his mother died and his father moved to ranching at Makawao, island of Maui. After completing his studies in 1875 he was a teacher under the Board of Education at Honuaula until 1880, when he was elected to the Legislature from the District of Wailuku, Maui, and subsequently went to Italy to study in the military academies and a year later was admitted to the Royal Military at Turin. In 1885 he graduated from the academy and was promoted to sub-lieutenant of artillery. Then he entered the Royal Application School for Engineer and Artillery Officers. While he was taking the last course in this school as an artillery officer he was recalled by the Hawaiian Government. That was in the year 1887. He was just married to a young lady of the noble house of Colonna di Stigliano. Her name was Signorina Gina Sobrero. She accompanied him and in 1888 they moved to San Francisco, where Mr. Wilcox was employed as a surveyor and his wife gave lessons in French and Italian.

In the morning of July 30, 1889, Mr. Wilcox led a body of native revolutionists and succeeded in occupying the grounds of the Iolani Palace, now the Executive Building, but the king's soldiers failed to join him in the movement as it was understood before he made the move. King Kalakaua changed his mind during the night through some one's advice, so he gave strict orders to his bodyguard not to join with Wilcox, but to hold the palace and the barracks. Mr. Wilcox did not like to take the palace against the king's will, as he thought he would only become a usurper of the king's power. Mr. Wilcox was leading this revolution as a Hawaiian Garibaldi, and if he only had decided to lead as a Hawaiian Napoleon Bonaparte, he would have carried everything before him. By the evening he became a prisoner and was charged with high treason by the government, but his countrymen, as jurymen, dis-

charged him for the reason that the king was a factor in it. From that day his countrymen looked upon him as their idol and their hero.

In 1890 he was elected to the Legislature from Honolulu as one of the representatives of the reform party. His party became the majority in the House, the Thurston Cabinet was voted out and King Kalakaua was once more in power to appoint a cabinet of his own selection. But his selection was not the choice of the people, consequently there was discontent. The king was disappointed, so in 1891 he went to San Francisco and died there broken-hearted. His sister, Princess Lydia Kamakaeha, became Queen Liliuokalani. In 1892 Mr. Wilcox was again elected to the Legislature as leader of the Liberal Party.

This Legislature was stubborned against any cabinet of the queen's will unless they were consulted about the selection of its members. So in January, 1893, the queen prorogued the Legislature and attempted to proclaim a new constitution to satisfy the long demand of her people, but her cabinet betrayed her in every way and thus facilitated her dethronement, a movement partly accomplished by the treachery of her own cabinet and partly by the under-influence of the United States' high officials and the demonstrations of the marines of the U. S. S. Boston.

At first Mr. Wilcox did not know what to do, as he knew the United States had a hand in the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani. But as soon as Commissioner J. Blount came and lowered the American flag Mr. Wilcox saw that the United States meant to do what was right and just. He accordingly decided to become a strong adherent to the queen and his countrymen. In 1895 he led the Diamond Head Revolution against the oligarchy of Dole. Although he had no hand in the organizing of the movement, yet like a true patriot and a true Garibaldi, he jumped into it and led the fight for his country, his queen and his people. After two weeks of revolution he was betrayed by a part Hawaiian, court-

martialed and sentenced to death; but the United States Congress intervened and Mr. Dole commuted the sentence to 35 years' imprisonment at hard labor and \$10,000 fine. In January, 1896, he was given a conditional pardon and in 1898 President Dole gave him a full pardon.

While in prison in 1895, Pope Leo XII granted to his wife an annulment of the marriage; also the Civil Court of Italy. The Italian consul and the Catholic Bishop at Honolulu confirmed this news respectively. So in 1896 Mr. Wilcox was married again to Princess Theresa Owana Kaohelani, a direct descendant of Keoua, father of Kamehameha the Great. The Princess is one of the most interesting women in the islands and the mother of two children, Prince Roberto Keoua, eleven years of age, and Princess Virginia Kaihikapumahana Kahoa Kaahumanu Ninito, nine years of age, the former being the last child of royalty born under the monarchy.

In 1899 Mr. Wilcox was delegated by his countrymen to Washington to obtain unrestricted franchise for his people in the framing of their Organic Law then before Congress.

In this undertaking Mr. Wilcox was supported by Congress and went home with honor. On November 6, 1900, Mr. Wilcox was elected as the first delegate of Hawaii to Congress and on December 15, 1900, the oath of office was administered. He was looked upon as "the first to strike for liberty and the first to represent his people."

FREDERIC CARLOS SMITH.

Among the many young men who have left their native homes in the old states in recent years and have come to Honolulu to better their condition, there is none more worthy of mention than the subject of this sketch, Frederic Carlos Smith. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1871, and is a son of Carlos Smith, who was born in Northford, Connecticut, in 1833, and who is at the present time living in New



Mark P. Robinson

Haven. His mother, Isabella Graham Maltby, was also born in Northford, Connecticut, in 1833, and is to-day a resident of the above named place. Frederic Carlos Smith was educated in the High School of New Haven, Connecticut, from which he graduated in 1887. He then entered the controller's office of the Consolidated Railroad Company there. After severing his connection with this company he went to Australia, upon a pleasure trip, where he remained one year, from which he returned to the Hawaiian Islands and entered the service of the Oahu Railroad and Land Company, where he has remained for the past thirteen years. In his position as general passenger and ticket agent for the Oahu Railroad and Land Company he has manifested marked ability, and there is no other employe who stands higher in the estimation of the company. He is very popular in social circles and his friends predict for him a successful and brilliant future. He is an active member of the Promotion Committee of Hawaii, is a member of the Board of Health, is an active member of the American Passenger Association, and on two occasions has been sent east by them, as their representative in a business and social way. He is a Mason and a member of Hawaiian Lodge No. 12. He was married to Miss Alice Wall in 1900, a charming and popular young lady of one of the best families of the islands.

MARK PREVER ROBINSON.

Standing shoulder to shoulder with the prominent men whose names are indelibly engraved upon the history of the Hawaiian Islands is Mark P. Robinson, the subject of this sketch. To go into a detailed account of the many enterprises with which this gentleman has been and is connected and to attempt to review in extenso his connection with the political, commercial and social life of the islands would of course be impossible, but it is certainly necessary that sufficient space be devoted to a brief

resumé of his career, as without it being done, an important chapter would have to be eliminated from this history.

His father, James J. Robinson, was an Englishman, and except for accident would never have landed on the islands. He was one of a crew of two whalers, Pearl and Hermes, which left England bound for the South Seas. Both vessels were wrecked on the coral reefs lying about a thousand miles from the Hawaiian Islands, and it was by constructing a small boat from the wrecks of these vessels, and after enduring almost incredible hardships and privations, that the survivors reached Honolulu. Mr. Robinson determined to settle here, and by the time of his death had acquired a handsome fortune. He landed here in 1821 and died in 1876.

Mark P. Robinson acquired his education at the public schools and at the Oahu College of Honolulu. After putting aside his text-books he took charge of his father's estate, after which he went into the lumber business, which firm is now known as Allen & Robinson. He retired from this firm in 1881 and engaged in the exportation of fruit to the United States. When he took charge the shipments amounted to about 1,000 bushels a year, and when he retired in 1897 the shipments were over 100,000 bushels per year.

While engaged in the fruit business he became identified with Mr. B. F. Dillingham in the Oahu Railroad. It cannot be denied that much of the success of this road is directly attributed to the efforts of Mr. Robinson for his financial backing came at a time when the fate of the enterprise hung in the balance. He is at present vice-president of the road and acted as treasurer until 1903. Mr. Robinson has always taken an active interest in the political welfare of his country, and his advice and sound judgment have done much to smooth over the difficult problems which have confronted the public. He was an active member of the executive committee of the Hawaiian League during the agitation which

culminated in the revolution of 1887, and the consequence of which was the righting of the wrongs of the people. He served as a member of the legislature in 1887 and 1888 and has always been to the front in matters pertaining to the public interest. He has also served most acceptably as a supervisor and was a member of the Jones-Wilcox cabinet. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and his life has been shaped according to the teachings of the craft. At the present time he is associated with the following corporations: President of the Puna Sugar Company, vice-president of the First National Bank of Hawaii. He is also a director and is financially interested in a number of other large corporations on the islands. Mr. Robinson was married in 1876, but his wife died in 1884, leaving him three children: Lawrence Power, 23, who is engaged in office duties with his father; Mark A., aged 22, and Allen C., aged 19, are attending the Oahu College.

From this brief review it can readily be seen that Mr. Robinson is a man of affairs, and the commercial and political circles of the islands recognize in him a strong factor. No man stands higher in the community than does he, and his popularity is well merited for his life has been an open book and no critic could speak ill of his career.

FREDERICK AUGUST SCHAEFER.

The Fatherland has furnished to the Hawaiian Islands many notable men who have gained prominence in commercial and political pursuits, and with them the name of Frederick August Schaefer comes prominently to the front as an exemplar of sturdy manhood and good citizenship. Coming to the islands a young man, without any backing, he has steadily progressed until to-day he is numbered among its most representative men. The history of any country is to a large extent made up of the lives of its people, and in this connection a brief review of the career of the subject of this sketch will prove most interesting to all

who wish to familiarize themselves with the history of the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. Schaefer was born in Bremen, Germany, August 19, 1836, and is a son of John William Schaefer, who was also born in Bremen on September 17, 1809. His mother, Sophia Schaefer, was a native of Leipsic, Saxony, and was born May 30, 1810. The subject of this sketch received his education in Bremen in a commercial college, as it was the intention of his parents to educate him for a commercial life. At the age of sixteen he put aside his text-books and entered the office of Foerster & Grosse, a wholesale general merchandise establishment. It was here that Mr. Schaefer received his first actual business training, and the careful and practical methods of the large German houses are so well understood that it is not hard to realize that this was a most valuable experience. After remaining with this institution for four and a half years he accepted an offer from the firm of Melchers & Co. of Honolulu to become their bookkeeper. He embarked on a sailing vessel via Cape Horn, and after stopping one week in Chili he proceeded on his way and arrived here in November, 1857. He at once started work for Melchers & Co. in the same building now occupied by himself. That he made himself an extremely valuable man to the house may be judged from the fact that after a service of three and one-half years he was admitted to the partnership, the date being July 1, 1861. In 1859 and 1860 he made two voyages, one to Kamchatka and one to Amoor river. To the former place he took a cargo of merchandise, and on arrival there opened up a store, remaining there until the stock had been disposed of. On his return trip he brought a cargo of oil and furs. He then remained in Honolulu as a partner of the firm until July, 1867, when he purchased the interests of his partners and became sole proprietor, the name of the firm at that time being changed to the present one of F. A. Schaefer & Co. The property in which the business is conducted is owned

by the firm. The house was erected in 1854, and at that time was a constant source of wonder to the natives, who called it Mauna Pohaku, which means "mountain of stone." It is a two-story structure, 40 by 60 feet, and although over a half century old is in a perfect state of preservation. Since 1869 Mr. Schaefer has been consul for Italy, and while somewhat averse to public life, he has filled several local offices of importance under the royal government.

In 1879 Mr. Schaefer married Miss Elizabeth Robertson, a daughter of George M. Robertson, justice of the supreme court of the islands. Mr. Robertson died in 1867. Unto Mr. and Mrs. Schaefer have been born seven children, as follows: Irmgard, aged 24; Elsa, aged 19; Ethelinda, 18; Gustave, aged 16; Carl, aged 13; Pauline, aged 10, and August, aged 8.

Although Mr. Schaefer has been a great traveler, he intends to make his future home on the islands. He has made three trips to Europe, and it is a strange coincidence that his trips have each been separated ten years. The first was in 1877, the second, 1887, and the third, 1897. Besides this, he has made many trips to California and also to British Columbia. In his magnificent home in the Nuuanu valley he spends his happiest hours, being surrounded by his family and resting free from the cares of business. This mansion is a historic place, at one time being the property of Robert C. Wyllie, a prominent man in the days of royalty. He was minister of foreign affairs and was a great entertainer. In 1860 Lady Franklin was a guest at this establishment, and while there planted a mango tree which is standing to-day and is in full bearing. About thirty years ago, after he had purchased the place, Mr. Schaefer planted an avenue with Royal palms, and to-day this avenue is considered one of the most beautiful on the islands. The luxuriant vegetation of the tropics has here its fullest development, and the marvelous beauty of the place must be seen to be appreciated. Mr. Schaefer

has been a Mason for over forty years, and although he will soon pass the seventieth milestone of life he is as vigorous, both mentally and physically, as the majority of men twenty years his junior. His has been an exemplary life, and to-day, surrounded by the creature comforts, with a family growing up who will no doubt emulate his example, and with the confidence and respect of the entire community, it could not be otherwise than a pleasure to the biographer to set down these few brief facts in connection with his life. Public opinion says, "he has worked hard, he has been progressive, he has ever been faithful to a trust, he has been a devoted husband and father, and the years to come cannot help but add additional lustre to a name that is a synonym for the better qualities of manhood and citizenship."

JOHN ENA.

John Ena is of partly Chinese and partly Hawaiian extraction, and is a remarkable exception to the general rule; for it is true of the Hawaiian that, while he has many admirable traits of character, his nature forbids his becoming a thorough business man.

The father of John Ena was a Chinese, and his mother a Hawaiian, and no doubt to his oriental ancestry are attributable the shrewdness, sagacity and financiering ability which have raised him to his present standing in business circles; while it may be said of him that the most desirable traits of the Hawaiian are also embodied in his disposition.

John Ena was born in Hilo in 1845, and here in Hawaii his entire life has been spent. He received a fair education, and engaged in various occupations until he was about thirty-four years of age, when he first entered the employ, as bookkeeper, of T. R. Foster & Co., who were the owners of a fleet of seven schooners in the carrying trade between Honolulu and the several islands. This firm is now the Interisland Steam Navigation Company, and in this field this gentleman has acquired his

present position and means. About the time of Mr. Ena's becoming connected with this concern their first steamer—the James McKee—was added to the company's fleet. The following year the C. R. Bishop was added, subsequently the Iwalani, and with the development of the company's interests Mr. Ena was closely connected. In 1883 the company was incorporated, and he invested all his means in company stock. To the success of this corporation he has been most assiduously devoted, giving it his entire attention, and to himself and Captain W. B. Godfrey is principally due the present flourishing condition of the Interisland Steam Navigation Company. After the resignation of Capt. W. B. Godfrey he became the president and manager of the company.

In his early youth his father met with business reverses and died, leaving no estate; his children had therefore to make their own way in life, and in this they have all succeeded. One of Mr. Ena's sisters was the late Mrs. Haalelea, and one is Mrs. Coney. Mrs. Haalelea was one of the most prominent and highly esteemed of Honolulu's wealthiest ladies, as is also her sister, Mrs. Coney. The subject of this sketch is possessed of ample means and has traveled extensively throughout the world. His family consists of seven children—five girls and two boys—and they are all possessed of great musical talent. Mr. Ena has two beautiful suburban homes—one at Manoa and one at Waikiki—and a magnificent winter residence in Honolulu. He was born and raised in Hilo, and although he is thoroughly appreciative of the delights of his native land, the unparalleled "Paradise of the Pacific," he also has a beautiful residence at Long Beach, Southern California, where he and his family spend a great part of their time. Although a lover of Hawaii and taking a keen interest in its welfare, Mr. Ena has always avoided politics. He, however, was a member of the privy council and was a member of the house of nobles during the monarchy; he was a member

of the board of health and a member of the council of state under the provisional government and also a member of the constitutional convention of the Republic of Hawaii.

GEORGE PRENTICE DENISON.

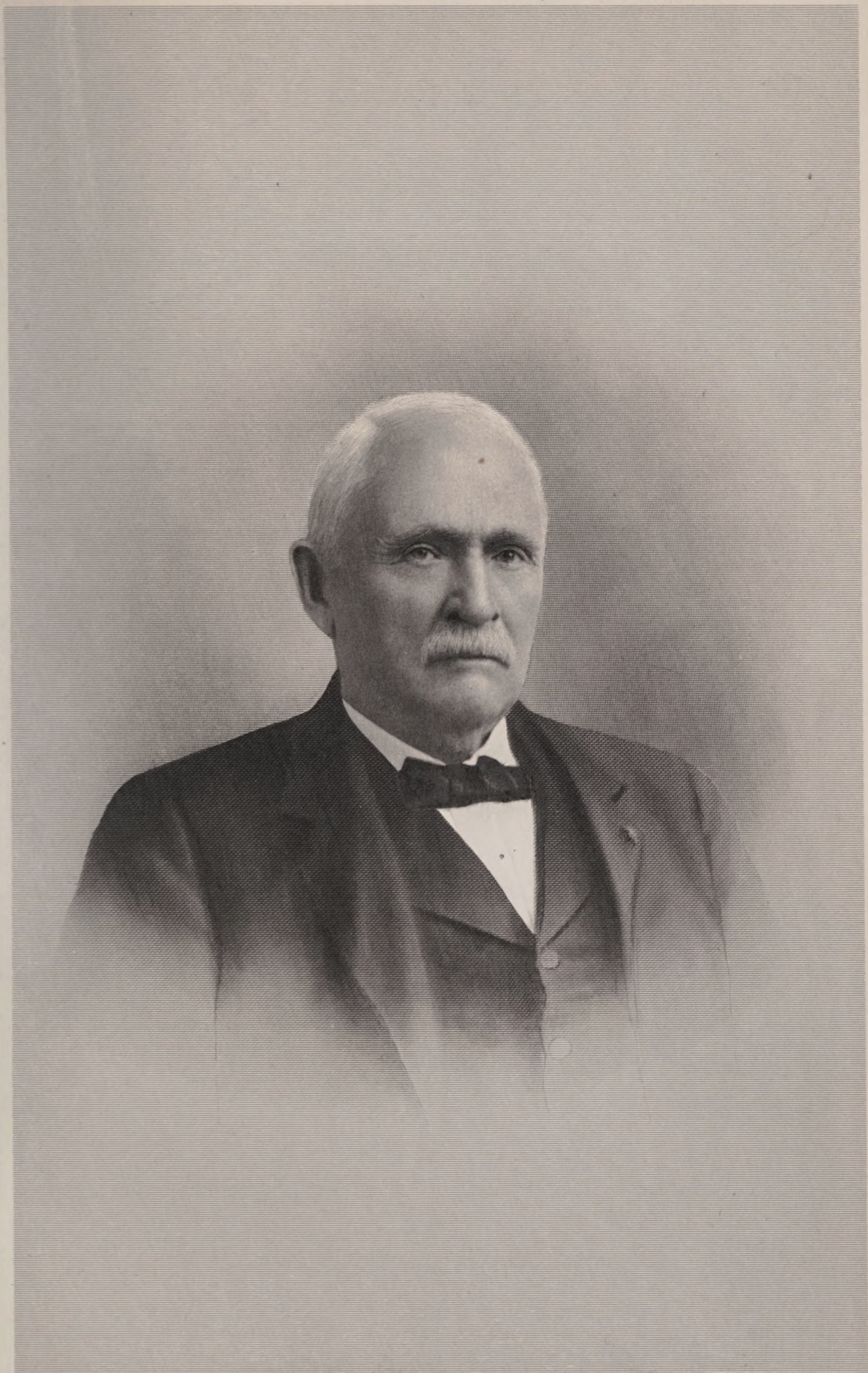
Born in Rouseville, Pennsylvania, but moved to Dayton, Pennsylvania, at the early age of five, where he entered the public school in 1884, he went to Ontario in southern California, where he resided until 1889, when he came to Honolulu and engaged with the Oahu Railway & Land Company. He began his services in the survey and constructing department. He remained in these two departments till 1892, when he became assistant superintendent. In 1893 he was promoted to general superintendent and was directing manager in the chief's absence. His father, Barclay Page Denison, was formerly a resident of Pennsylvania and is now living in Honolulu. His mother, Florence Denison, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, was married in 1868. The subject of this sketch was married in 1893 to Anne M. McLaren of Honolulu, who is now dead. They have two children: Hardy Lee, aged 9, who is attending Punahou College. George P. Denison is an active member of the Chamber of Commerce.

DR. JOHN S. MCGREW.

(Father of Annexation.)

The United States is more indebted to-day to Dr. John S. McGrew for the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands than to any one single man; or to speak even more broadly, of any party of men, for it is to him must be given the credit of first preparing the minds of the people of the islands on the subject of annexation. He has been untiring in his efforts and it is naturally a source of gratification to him that he has lived to see his cherished plans and ambitions mature.

He was born in Lancaster, Ohio, in 1822, but at an early age he



Geo. S. McGrew

moved with his parents to Cincinnati, Ohio. Here his preliminary education was acquired in the public schools of that city, which study was supplemented by a course at Oxford College, from which institution he was graduated. It was his ambition to write M. D. after his name, and to this purpose he attended the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati, Ohio, from which institution he graduated in 1847. Immediately afterwards he opened an office in Cincinnati and for thirteen years was in active practice in that city. When the Civil war broke out in the United States Dr. McGrew at once proffered his service to his country. It will be remembered by those who are familiar with the Cincinnati riots that feeling ran very high at that time. The doctor has good occasion to remember it, for it was during that period that he tendered his service to the wounded, and for his pains narrowly escaped death. He was fired upon and his sign in front of his office was riddled with bullets. He has this sign to-day in his possession as a memento of the occasion. He was appointed surgeon to the Eighty-third Ohio Regiment, from which he was detailed as chief surgeon of the division until after the Red River expedition; when he was ordered to appear before the New York Examination Board and was then appointed staff surgeon of the United States Volunteers. After this appointment his division was ordered to Cincinnati, which was threatened by Kirby Smith, whom they pursued through Kentucky and Tennessee, until ordered to Memphis. He was in Sherman's command during the famous march to the sea; was at the fall of Vicksburg and was under Banks at New Orleans.

In 1866 he resigned his commission in the army, and retired to private practice. After a short stay in San Francisco, he came direct to Honolulu, arriving March 7, 1867, and here the doctor remained ever since. He was twice married, first in 1849, but his wife died two years later, leaving him one son. In 1886 he was again married. Two years ago he retired from active practice, and is now living a retired life. By

his second marriage he had two children, the oldest being Mrs. Dr. Cooper, whose husband is a practicing physician here, and is the president of the Board of Health. The second, John T. McGrew, aged 26, is now in Paris and is finishing his education there as an architect.

When Dr. McGrew first arrived upon the islands the thought at once occurred to him that by all the rights of geographical location; of commerce and of mutual advantage, that the islands should become a portion of the United States. To think was to act, and ever since that time he has been untiring in his efforts to that end. No personal sacrifice was too great for him to make to carry out this desired object, and he labored unceasingly for its fulfillment. He was instrumental in establishing the "Star," a live and prosperous paper which was devoted to the interest of annexation, and of which he acted as editor-in-chief.

Now that annexation has been accomplished the doctor feels, and justly so, that he is entitled to a retirement from the active duties of life, not, however, from the active duties of citizenship, and it is safe to say that his advice and ripe judgment, as well as any material property he possesses, will always be at the service of his country. He is living to-day, in the evening of his life, in one of the most beautiful homes of Honolulu, overlooking the bay, and stands to-day as the type of American citizen which is every true American's ambition, namely: "To have done much for his country, and to be honored and respected by all."

MONSIEUR JASONT RIVES.

Monsieur Jasont Rives, or, Mr. John Rives, so-called by the English speaking community then living at these islands, and addressed by the Hawaiians as Luahine, a name bestowed on him by Queen Kaahumanu, consort of Kamehameha I (Luahine was one of her own names), was the pioneer Frenchman who landed on these shores during the latter part of Kamehameha the Conqueror's reign. Jasont was born in Bor-

deaux, France, on November 14, 1794. He was the son of Jean Baptiste Rives, officier de la Legion d'Honneur, lieutenant vaitteau en retraite, capitaine de port de 1re classe a Bordeaux. His mother was Catherine de Bargerage, a member of one of the oldest patrician families of the Gironde. After receiving a good education from his youth up, his father chose medicine as the profession for his son, so as to succeed to the already famous popularity of his grandpere Rives, a noted physician in his day. But this did not suit young Rives. He preferred navigation, as did one of his uncles before him, so as to see other parts of the world. Consequently he embarked on a vessel bound on an expedition to the Pacific ocean. Arriving at these islands, he was not only charmed by the picturesque scenery of our beautiful "Paradise of the Pacific," but more with the genial hospitality of its inhabitants. Being somewhat prepossessing in his appearance, his dignified manners strongly indicating his European descent, naturally attracted the attention and won the admiration of the chiefs and people, in particular the king's eldest son, Prince Liholiho, who besought his father's sanction to beg the young foreigner to give up his projected cruise and to stay and abide with them. Pressed in this manner and receiving such unexpected honors and cordiality, it did not require much persuasion to induce Mr. Rives to change his future course. From that time on he bore the high distinction amongst the court and people as the "aikane punahele" (a bosom friend or companion) of the prince. This meant that the "kapu," a form of law existing in those days, which, if a commoner or chief of a low degree were found trespassing, the guilty one was severely punished, very often meeting with death, did not apply to him. Luahine was accorded the perfect freedom of all Liholiho's kapus, even the highest privilege of the kapu puloulou. When these insignias of rank were stationed at the entrance of a high chief's premises or residence, it was the sign of "no admit-

tance allowed," only to those of similar chiefdom, entitled to the kapu puloulou. Steps were taken as soon as it was deemed proper to arrange about a marriage between Rives and some of the young chiefesses of the realm, who resided at or visited both of the royal courts from time to time; and it was not very long after, however, that he met his fate whilst on a tour on the island of Molokai, for it was there that he first saw and won the heart of his destined bride, Holau. Holau Kalanimehekaikawai was the daughter of Kalawaia-a-Kualii, a direct descendant in the fourth degree from Lonoikamakahikikapuokalani, one of Hawaii's most famous kings. Her mother, Umi, was from the noted family of Umimahihelima of Hana, Maui. On his return to Honolulu, Rives made known his preference to the king and dowager queen, who were so pleased with his choice that immediate preparations were made to send a retinue of attendants to accompany the young bride-elect to the capital, where the ancient marital ceremony of "Hoao" was to be solemnized. Four daughters and a son graced this union. The eldest, named Marguaritte Kapikonui, died when but a child of five years. Next were born to them Teresa Owana and her twin sister, Virginia Kahoa, whom Queen Kaahumanu adopted from their very birth and brought them up as members of her own family. Genevieve Namahana, although she lived up to the age of maturity, did not enjoy good health, so died young. The youngest of the family, the son, John Lafayette Rives, lived and died a bachelor at the age of fifty-seven. His young days were spent at Monterey, California, where a wealthy American gentleman, a Mr. Thompson, who had adopted him, was living with his Spanish wife. This offered him the opportunity of learning and speaking the Spanish language with great proficiency. In this, his own native home, he was much admired for his goodness of heart and his unlimited liberality.

In the meantime the death of Kamehameha the Conqueror took place and Prince Liholiho ascended the throne of his father and became the

sovereign of the whole group, under the title of Kamehameha II. To insure the stability of his government and with the advice of his chiefs, he left home to visit England's king on matters of political importance. He was accompanied by his consort, Queen Kamamalu, the high chiefs Boki and his wife, Liliha, and several others, including Mr. Rives. So great was the friendship which existed between the sovereign and Mr. Rives, which proved inseparable, that the latter was obliged to leave his wife and family to accompany King Kamehameha II on his voyage to Europe. Our old histories on Hawaii have already described the sad end which befell the unfortunate monarch and likewise his ill-fated queen, whose remains were brought home under the charge of an English gentleman of rank, Lord Byron, brother to the poet. During the time of the demise of their majesties Rives was absent in France, negotiating for sending a Catholic mission to Hawaii, having hitherto gained the royal permission from the king in person. This detained him from returning for some time, until an opportunity offered, when he left his native country once more on a vessel which was to proceed to Mexico, whereby he hoped some day to get a chance to return to Hawaii and to his family, so long separated from. It was fated to be otherwise, for we find from the archives of Mexico that Mr. Rives died in the city of Mexico on the 18th day of August in the year 1833, in the fortieth year of his age. Mr. Robert C. Wyllie, who held the honorable position of premier during the latter part of Kamehameha III's reign and a part of Kamehameha IV's, was one of the few friends who sat by the bedside of Rives and witnessed his death.

Now, to return to the second daughter of Rives, Teresa Owana, who forms the joining link to the present generation of the Rives-Laanui family. Having enjoyed all the advantages and luxuries of courtly splendor and receiving a sprinkle of an English education from the missionaries who had just arrived, she was eagerly sought in marriage and the

avored one proved to be the high chief Laanui, a scion of the royal house of Keoua, progenitor also of the Kamehamehas, who founded the Kamehameha dynasty. Laanui was the grandson of Kaloquokomaile, who was the eldest son of Keoua Kalanikupuapaikalaninui through his mother, Kaohelalani. His father was Nuhi, the eldest son of Hinaï, the ruling high chief of Waimea, on the Island of Hawaii. By this marriage two children were born unto them, the eldest a daughter, Elizabeth Kekaaniau, who, with a few other scions of the nobility, were specially selected by King Kamehameha III and his counsellors to receive an English education to befit them as the probable future rulers of the country. The old Royal School was built to accommodate the young chiefs and their teachers. It stood on the same site where the barracks stand, now passed as the property of the Federal government. Mr. and Mrs. Amos S. Cooke, members of the missionary party, were entrusted with the full charge and responsibility of these children, fourteen in number. Out of this number four kings and one queen have reigned over Hawaii in succession, whilst one of the young high chiefesses became queen consort to Kamehameha IV, and another, the Princess Victoria Kaiulani, heir-ess apparent to the throne of her brother, Kamehameha V, was premier during his reign. Elizabeth Kekaaniau married Mr. Franklin Seaver Pratt, an American from one of the best families of Boston. He held several positions of trust independently, and was also in the service of the government. On the accession of Liliuokalani to the throne, he received the appointment of consul-general of Hawaii over the entire Pacific coast states of America, but the revolution which occurred soon after, which overthrew the monarchy, closed his career as such. A few months after his return to his adopted country his health gradually began to fail, until his death took place on the 11th day of January, 1894. As likewise other disappointed couples, no issue gladdened the two hearts contracting this marriage. Gideon Kalilipalaki, the son of Laanui, mar-

ried also, and had an only child, a daughter, by his wife, Kamaikaopa, who was named after her two ancestresses, Teresa Owana and Kaohelelani. By her first marriage she became the wife of Alexander J. Cartwright, Jr., a member of one of the most prominent families in Honolulu, and by him she has two daughters, the eldest named Daisy Napulahao-kalani, and the younger Eva Kuwailanimamao. She subsequently married again, and has had four children, two living, by Mr. Robert W. Wilcox, who represented Hawaii as delegate to the United States Congress in Washington during the years 1902 and 1903. A son bears the patronymic surname of his forefather, Keoua, and his little sister, Kaihikapumahana, derived her name from the Lonoikamakahiki line. This represents the senior line direct. The junior line of the Rives family, through Virginia Kahoa, have become extinct by the death of her only child, Henry Edward Peirce. She married one of the wealthiest merchants in Honolulu at the time, Mr. Henry Aucers Peirce, who, during the reign of Kamehameha V, was appointed American minister resident at the court of Hawaii.

ROBERT C. A. PETERSON.

Robert Copeland Austin Peterson, one of the prominent business men of Honolulu, is a general commission broker, also conducting a real estate, stocks and bonds and fire and life insurance agency. He was born at Austinville, Oahu, in the Hawaiian Islands, February 8, 1870, and has been a prominent factor in the military, political and business history of the islands. He was a member of the Honolulu Rifles at the time of the trouble with the king, and was an officer of the citizens' guard at the time of the overthrow. He took an active part in the revolution and in all questions relating to the political situation of the country. He has held office under monarchical and provisional government, also under the Republic of Hawaii, and now under its rule as a territory of

the United States. His political views are those of an independent Republican. He has traveled widely and has an acquaintance extending all over the world.

JOSEPH M. OAT.

One of the most interesting figures in connection with the history of the Hawaiian Islands is J. M. Oat, the subject of this sketch. For nearly a half century he has been identified with public life in the islands, and during his entire connection with the public interests he has been recognized as a capable officer and faithful to the position and duties entrusted to him, and to-day there is no more popular or more respected citizen in the entire community.

Joseph M. Oat was born in New London, Connecticut, May 14, 1848, and is descended from a prominent New England family. While in his infancy, in 1853, he was taken to San Francisco, California, and two years afterwards took up his abode in the islands. His education was obtained in the public schools here, and after putting his text-books aside he learned the trade of sail-maker under his father. Continuing this trade for a brief period, he became a bookkeeper and shortly after established a news company, which was afterward sold to J. H. Soper, who subsequently incorporated it as the Hawaiian News Company. Prior to this, until about 1880, he was appointed chief clerk in the postoffice department, by H. A. P. Carter, the Minister of the Interior. When the islands came under the provisional government he was appointed postmaster-general, which position he filled until annexation, at which time he was appointed postmaster of Honolulu by President McKinley, which position he filled most acceptably. It has been a matter of much comment by visitors to the islands, of the thorough system inaugurated in the postoffice here, which in itself speaks very highly of Mr. Oat's ability in this branch of public service.

Mr. Oat was married in 1880 to Miss Maggie Burke, a daughter of



Princess Emma Alexandria Defries

one of the old and prominent families of California. In his fraternal relations he is a Mason, and was master of the Hawaiian Lodge No. 21, for 1900. He is a past grand of the I. O. O. F., and is also a member of the Eastern Star and the Knights of Pythias.

Since his residence on the islands Mr. Oat has seen many interesting and historical changes, dating from the reign of Kamehameha IV and V to Lunalilo, King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani. He has passed through all the riots and insurrections which have troubled the islands for the past half century, and at times he graphically relates many of his interesting experiences. He is thoroughly posted regarding the history of the islands, as he has taken an active interest in all matters of public moment since leaving his text-books. He has always been identified to a greater or less extent with newspaper work and is now correspondent for the San Francisco Merchants' Exchange and the San Francisco Guide.

Mr. Oat is an enthusiast on the future of the islands and naturally so, after witnessing the marvelous changes that have taken place since his residence here. The development of this historical section of the country has been extremely rapid from a commercial and social standpoint, and as each successive decade has passed he has been quick to note the changes, so that to-day there is no man more familiar or who has been more closely identified with the history of the Hawaiian Islands than the subject of this sketch.

PRINCESS EMMA ALEXANDRIA KALANIKAUIKAALANEO
KILIOULANINUIAMAMAO DE FRIES.

One of the most interesting personages in the Hawaiian Islands is the subject of this sketch, who is of highest royal lineage, and whose genealogy is given herewith from good authority as being a direct lineal descendant of Queen Keopuolani, wife of Kamehameha I.

She was born at Strong's Island, Micronesia, on January 30, 1855, her parents being those of the earliest Hawaiian missionaries who left in 1854—she returning with her mother in 1860 to receive her education at Uluani College and later at Kawaiahao Seminary. She completed her studies in 1876, and was married to Henry Howard Kauauanuiamahi De Fries, son of John Howard De Fries and Hale-o-Keawe, who was a royal descendant of the noted and powerful House of Mahi.

The Princess is the daughter of William Pitt Kalawaianuiakanoa, the son of Haka, grandson of Imakakoloa, and great-grandson of the famous high chief, Kanuha, who built the house of refuge known as "Hale-o-Keawe." Her mother was Kahoupo-o-Kaholokaumakaokane, the daughter of Wahineikapeakapuoliloa and Kalimakahilinuia mamaoalapa, who was the son of Mahehikapulikoliko, whose mother was Peleuli, one of the wives of Kamehameha I. Mahehikapulikoliko's husband was Aakalanikauluhiwaakama, the son of Kapakahiliniuiaehu, the noted chief warrior of the opposing forces of Kalnikupule. Kapakahiliniuiaehu was the son of Kepoomahana, one of the daughters of Keumikalakauaehua-kama and Kauanoho, his sister. Kepoomahana was married to Kau-loaiwi, one of the sons of Kalanikaumakaowakea, king of Maui. This same Kapakahiliniuiaehu married Kilioulaninuia mamaohikawainui, daughter of Kauikeaouli Kiwalao and Kalanikauikikilokalaninuiwaiakuawai-kanakaole. This lady in her days was one of the highest tabu chiefs, on whom the sun was not permitted to shine and who, unless with extraordinary precautions, only moved about when the sun was so low as not to throw its beams upon her head. She was the daughter of Queen Kalola and Kamehameha the Great, king of Maui. Queen Kalola was also the wife of Kalaniupuu, king of Hawaii.

The princess is the mother of six children, as follows:

John Alexander Liholiho Kalaninohopono-o-Lunalilo De Fries, born August 22, 1881.

Henry Iolani Kahakuohawaii De Fries, born December 8, 1883.

Hiram Kauikeaouli Kiwalao Kealiikaapuninuiamamao De Fries, born September 28, 1885.

Emma Alexandria Nahienaeno-o-Keopuolani Hakaukalalapuakea De Fries, born April 15, 1889.

Rosalind Hoalii Kilioulaninuiamamaohikawainui De Fries, born October 10, 1893.

Marion Pauline Hale-o-Keawe Kalanikauikikilokalaninuiwaiakua De Fries, born August 12, 1895.

The princess has in her residence several large kahilis. They are emblems of royalty and can only be found in possession of the members of the royal family.

ADMIRAL GEORGE C. BECKLEY.

To write a history of the Hawaiian Islands without due recognition of Admiral George C. Beckley would be like writing a romance without a hero, so prominently has he been identified for the past forty years with its social and commercial interests. From his earliest boyhood he manifested a marked desire to rise above his surroundings, and throughout his life this has been the dominant characteristic of his nature until to-day he stands the peer of any man within his environment.

Admiral George C. Beckley was born on the Island of Hawaii on May 5, 1849, at a place called Waimea, Waiemi, which at the present time is the general headquarters for the famous stock ranch of the Hon. Samuel Parker.

To follow in detail the experiences and vicissitudes of forty years of life at sea is no small task, but in brief, the following will be found interesting, as it clearly demonstrates the indomitable energy, will-power, and force of character embodied in the physical and mental makeup of George C. Beckley.

The first voyage made by him was from Honolulu in the bark Catherine of New London, C. A. Williams & Co., owners, as cabin boy, to Margarita Bay, on the coast of California, where, on November 15, 1862, twelve devil fish were captured, which yielded 350 barrels of oil. There were several ships in the bay at the time.

Returning to Honolulu on March 14, the ship discharged the oil, took on provisions, and left April 11 for Kodiak and the Arctic.

On July 18 the Catherine entered the Arctic Ocean and cruised around during the open season. The weather was generally good; the ship found whales plentiful, and saw the largest number in latitude 70 degrees north, longitude 175 degrees west. From August 10 to 16 the crew took their first bowhead. July 19, latitude 68 degrees 10 minutes north, longitude 170 degrees west, were captured in all sixteen bowhead whales. The Catherine left the Arctic region on September 8, experiencing pleasant weather on the passage down, with southerly winds, for nine days. On September 8, spoke the brig Susan Abigail of San Francisco, Redfield, master, cruising with nothing.

On October 12, 1863, arrived at Honolulu with 1,700 barrels of bowhead oil and 28,000 pounds of whalebone.

On the next voyage Mr. Beckley left Honolulu in the bark Catherine of New London, on November 23, as cabin boy to the coast of California. Arrived back at Honolulu on March 19, 1864, and left again for the Arctic Ocean.

On April 8 arrived in Honolulu with 1,400 barrels of bowhead oil.

On the third voyage of the Catherine left Honolulu for the California coast on December 1, 1864, calling at Margarita Bay, Cape St. Lucas and Bandero Bay, as likewise the coast of Mexico. Returning, reached Honolulu with 100 barrels of oil.

Left again for Kodiak and the Arctic Ocean in April, and entered Behring Sea in June. During the latter part of June captured two bow-

head whales. It was here that the vessel was captured by the Confederate privateer *Shenandoah*, set on fire and burned to the water's edge, as were also a great many other vessels comprising the whaling fleet. The crew was taken aboard the bark *General Pike* of New Bedford, and shortly afterwards transferred to the Hawaiian bark *Richmond*, owned by Wilcox & Richards of Honolulu.

Of the various crews belonging to the burned vessels, some fifty were Hawaiians, all of whom were all sent back as passengers, Admiral Beckley being one of the party, where they arrived in July, 1865.

In September, 1865, Admiral Beckley joined the steamer *Kilauea* as second steward, and remained aboard until December, when she ran ashore at Kawaihae, near the beach home of Hon. Samuel Parker. He then returned to Honolulu in the schooner *Albernie*, owned by Janion & Green Company.

On April 15, 1866, left Honolulu in the bark *Monticello* of New London, under Capt. William Phillips, in the capacity of cabin boy for Kodiak and Arctic cruise. In the Arctic the ship captured whales from which were stowed down 450 barrels of oil, 8,000 pounds of whalebone, and arrived back at Honolulu on October 26.

On the fifth voyage, left Honolulu in the bark *Monticello* of New London, on November 23, 1866, for the coast of California, calling at San Diego and Banderos Bay, where they remained for six weeks. Returning, arrived at Honolulu on April 6, with 330 barrels of devil fish oil. Discharged cargo and left again for the Arctic region the latter part of July, 1867, returning the latter part of October, with 850 barrels of oil. The sixth voyage finds the subject of this sketch on the bark *Monticello*, which sailed from Honolulu on December 16, 1867, for a cruise to the westward, touching the Ascension Islands, and the Ladrone Islands (Guam), where shore liberty was given the officers and crew for three weeks.

From there the ship proceeded to the Arctic Ocean, where thirteen bowhead whales were captured, which yielded 1,000 barrels of oil.

Admiral Beckley left Honolulu for the Arctic Ocean again on April 10, 1868, in the brig Kohala, Captain Tripp, commander, as a boat steerer to the fourth mate.

In Behring Sea and in the Arctic the ship captured eight whales, and arrived home October 30, with every cask full, or 800 barrels of oil and 15,000 pounds of whalebone. December 25, 1868, finds Admiral Beckley on the bark Eagle of Honolulu, owned by J. C. Pfluger, H. Hackfeld & Co., agents; William Phillip commander, for Koloa, on Kauai, with provisions and wood. From there sailed to Baker's and Strong's Islands for pigs, chickens, etc., and from there proceeded to Guam and the Ladrone Islands, where officers and crews were on shore leave for three weeks. Then took on wood and water and sailed for Yokohama. Here the vessel remained one month, due to the captain taking sick with dropsy. He was carried ashore to the hotel. The chief officer was placed in command of the vessel, the officers were promoted, and Beckley was made fifth mate. The ship then proceeded to the Arctic Ocean, secured 1,000 barrels of oil, and arrived at Honolulu November 4, 1869.

On December 21, 1869, left Honolulu in the bark Arctic, in command of Captain Tripp, for a cruise to the Marquesas Islands, where the ship remained for two weeks taking on wood and water, repairing sails, etc. Beckley on the trip was boat steerer to the second mate. From the Islands the ship went to Kodiak to cruise for right whales. Was there for three weeks, and then proceeded to the Arctic, capturing four whales.

From here the vessel sailed for Point Barrow, latitude 72 north, longitude west. On September 12, which will long be remembered, almost the entire whaling fleet was lost. The suffering and privation ex-

perienced by hundreds of seamen is best told in the *Friend* of November 1, 1871.

The bark *Arctic*, with seven other vessels that were saved returned to Honolulu on October 23, 1871, with 480 barrels of oil.

The total number of men brought by the returning whaling vessels was in the aggregate 300. This was the last voyage made to the northern water by Admiral Beckley, and the tenth voyage finds him on the *Kilauea*, owned by the Hawaiian government, under the reign of Kamehameha V, the Hon. S. G. Wilder being the agent. January, 1871, found Beckley as a deck hand, but occupying quarters in the cabin, a condition made possible owing to his family connection with Kamehameha V. Some three months later he was promoted to the position of purser's clerk, his brother, F. W. Beckley, being the purser.

In 1873 Admiral Beckley was made first officer, while L. Marchant was in command.

On August 14, 1877, the new and elegant coasting steamer *Likeli*, built for the Hawaiian government, arrived in Honolulu from San Francisco, where she was built and launched by the Risdon Iron Works. In October, 1877, Admiral Beckley was appointed freight clerk of the *Likeli*, and in 1879 was promoted to the position of purser. About one month after her arrival in Honolulu the vessel was purchased by the Hon. S. G. Wilder.

In 1879 went to San Francisco as superintendent for the construction of the steamer *Lehua*, and launched her on May 10. On May 14 the vessel left San Francisco with two passengers and a full load of freight, and in command of Admiral Beckley, making the run in eleven days, arriving in Honolulu on May 26th. At Honolulu Beckley joined the steamer *Likeli* as chief mate under Captain Shephard, and then as purser again until 1883. Leaving the *Likeli* the Admiral joined the *Kinau*, as purser, where he remained until 1897, when he proceeded to

San Francisco and brought the steamer *Helene* to Honolulu, leaving there on February 24th, and arriving at Honolulu on March 2nd.

On Tuesday, March 8th, of the same year, Beckley joined the *Kinau* as purser, where he has remained ever since.

It is a fact worthy of note that Admiral Beckley is a man of excellent physique, and has never lost a day through sickness, or been absent from his post of duty for the past forty years, nine years in deep-water vessels and thirty-one years in the steamers plying around the Hawaiian Islands belonging to the Wilder Steamship Company, of which he is a director, has not added any gray hairs to his head. On Tuesday, February 26, 1901, Admiral Beckley took his examination before the United States Board of Inspectors of Hulls and Boilers, and was granted a license to navigate as a master and pilot of the Hawaiian waters.

Admiral Beckley might be captain as well as purser if he would.

At the regular meeting of the Harbor No. 54, A. A. M. P. S. V., held on January 5, it was decided by a unanimous vote of the harbor to confer upon Commodore George C. Beckley the title of admiral.

Admiral Beckley was also presented with a pennant 18 feet in length and eight feet in hoist. There are two white stars to note the rank and in the center of the medium width in the white circle there are the figures 54, the number of the Lodge of the American Association of Masters and Pilots of Steam Vessels of the United States of America.

After the presentation of this beautiful pennant Admiral Beckley responded to his brother members as follows:

“It is with heartfelt pleasure that I thank my brothers of Honolulu harbor for the honor they have paid me this evening. To be chosen as the admiral of the harbor, then be presented with this magnificent flag, is sufficient to call forth the best feelings and it is with the truest of appreciation of the honor that I thank you. I appreciate this gift all the more in that it is presented to me, a Hawaiian whose record of sea serv-



Arthur M. Brown

ice dates from early days, and has been connected with the development of trade between the various islands of the group. I have spent forty years on ships and have given the best years of life to the service.

“We ought to be proud of the service to which we belong. Our flag floats over fifty-four harbors in the United States, and it will ever wave. We are here to enjoy the good things; the flowers you see were sent to us by a young lady, who went to her own hot-house and gathered them when she heard that I was to be honored by the harbor. Again I thank you, my brothers, and in doing so I would say that this your flag shall ever wave on shore or on sea, while I live.”

On December 4, 1894, C. L. Wight was elected president of the Wilder Steamship Company, at which time the Hon. George C. Beckley became a director.

ARTHUR M. BROWN.

He was born in Honolulu August 16, 1868, and among the sons of Hawaii there is none whose name is more worthy of honorable mention in its history than the subject of this sketch, Arthur M. Brown.

Arthur M. Brown was educated at Punahou College in Honolulu, after which he took a course at the Boston University Law School. He returned to the islands in 1892 and engaged in the practice of law. In February, 1893, he accepted the position of deputy marshal under the Provisional Government, which position he held until 1895. He was then appointed marshal of the Republic of Hawaii, which position he held until June 14, 1900. He was then appointed high sheriff of the Territory of Hawaii by Sanford B. Dole and was afterwards re-appointed by Governor Carter to the same position. In that position he had control of the jails, prisons, and police officials of all the islands, and it is largely owing to his efforts and thorough knowledge of all the details of the various departments under his supervision that the system has been

brought up to its present high standard of efficiency. Upon the advent of county government, July 1, 1905, Mr. Brown was elected sheriff of Oahu county, in which the capital city of Honolulu is situated.

A. N. KEPOIKAI.

Auwae Noa Kepoikai was born in Wailuku on the island of Maui December 17th, 1862. He is of pure Hawaiian blood and can trace his lineage back beyond the days of Kamehameha the Great. His father, Noa Kepoikai, was a prominent Hawaiian of his day, fairly educated, and his son has lost none of the noble traits of his progenitor.

In his young days the subject of this sketch attended the common schools of Wailuku, and afterwards his father, anxious for the future of his son, sent him to Lahainaluna Seminary under Professor Hitchcock, which was then the leading educational institution of the country for Hawaiians. While here young Kepoikai mingled with other Hawaiian boys who later became leaders of their people, and it was thus that he obtained his first inspiration and thirst for learning. After graduation with high honors from Lahainaluna in 1880, Kepoikai entered Oahu College in the fall of the same year, hoping thereby that his youthful ambition might be fulfilled, but the early demise of his aged father interrupted his future plans for acquiring the various higher branches of learning which Oahu college alone could instill in the minds of the young. For a time his future seemed somewhat blighted.

In answer to urgent letters from home, young Kepoikai returned to Maui and dwelt among his aged relatives. Although his school days were considered over, as the time for a struggle for his daily existence was staring him in the face, yet, undaunted and with the same fixed determination with which he is nobly endowed by nature, and which has been the means of helping him in surmounting obstacles in most critical moments of his varied career, he then made up his mind to acquire

knowledge beyond that already obtained while under the tutorship of the best instructors the times afforded. So after leaving Oahu College he took up the study of law and was admitted by the late Chief Justice Judd to the Hawaiian bar September 1, 1895.

Before this time, however, and after leaving school he was for a time employed as salesman at Kahului store, and it was while here that he received his real business education, which has been a source of great help to him in his later career as a financier and as a business man in general. After that he held the position of district magistrate of Wailuku on the island of Maui. On December 15, 1886, he received his first commission as police magistrate of Wailuku from Robert Hoapili Baker, then governor of Maui and adjacent islands. This commission was renewed every two years later and bore the endorsement of cabinet ministers W. L. Green, Jona Austin, L. A. Thurston and C. W. Ashford, and approved by Hon. A. F. Judd, C. J., and Associate Justices L. McCully, Edward Preston and Sanford B. Dole. This was his first step into public life and from which he gradually rose to his present high position in officialdom.

Queen Liliuokalani soon after her ascension to the throne of the Kamehamehas, and reposing especial confidence in the ability and integrity of Kepoikai, and by and with the consent of her majesty's cabinet, on May 16, 1892, appointed him circuit judge of Maui, succeeding the late Hon. George E. Richardson. So from 1892 to 1894 he was circuit judge of the Second Judicial Circuit, comprising the islands of Maui, Molokai, Lanai and Kahoolawe, and during his incumbency he proved himself an able as well as a fair-minded jurist.

But like the majority of true and patriotic Hawaiians, he at first espoused the Royalist cause in 1893 and the Provisional Government which supplanted the government of Queen Liliuokalani found it incompatible with its principles of government to retain him, so Kepoikai re-

tired from that position which he had held with honor and dignity for over two years, and was succeeded by the Hon. John W. Kalua, another prominent Hawaiian lawyer and politician; but he did not retire without a struggle, for Kepoikai flatly refused to vacate his seat, questioning the authority of those in power to remove him without cause. Special laws were passed by the Provisional Government Junta, which required all government officials to take the oath of fealty to the then de facto government as a token of recognition of the existing government. And thus Kepoikai was forced to relinquish the ermine robe and retired to his country seat in Wailuku to follow up the study of law, in which profession he has become an esteemed and valuable member, and as the irony of fate would have it, Kepoikai in 1904 succeeded Kalua in the same bench from which he was forced to retire ten years before; this time our worthy President, accepting the recommendation of Governor George R. Carter of Hawaii, sent Kepoikai's name to the Senate of the United States of America and by which body the nomination was confirmed on April 19th, 1904. Thus was Roosevelt instrumental in reinstating him to a position from which he was forcibly removed. But times and governments have changed, and the Royalist cause is a thing of the past except in the dim imagination of some Home Rulers, who still believe in restoration of the monarchy. And thus Kepoikai is again on the much coveted Maui bench, holding that most enviable position as the first citizen of Maui, and well he deserves that position, for he is undoubtedly the ablest of Hawaii's sons, possessing as he does not only a legal and judicial mind, but also a business mind. He is also a leading figure in politics, having represented Maui in the Senate of the Republic of Hawaii in 1898. He and Samuel Parker were the first delegates from the Territory of Hawaii to the Republican National Convention held at Philadelphia, Penna., in 1900. In that convention Mr. Kepoikai met and associated with the best element of Americans. That

trip was a God-send to him, for an observing mind like his could not help but take advantage of every opportunity for improvement which such environments and such a body of representative men could only impart.

On his return in 1900 he was honored by Governor S. B. Dole with a commission as one of the five members of the Court of Fire Claims, which adjudicated over \$1,000,000.00 among several thousand claimants who lost almost everything in that most disastrous conflagration of 1899 which devastated that portion of Honolulu known as Chinatown. Of the original five members of the commission Mr. Kepoikai alone received a reappointment to sit in the second and final commission.

In December of 1902 Kepoikai went to Honolulu on the U. S. S. Iroquois, which was sent on a special mission to Kahului, Maui, to bring him down, and accepted the portfolio of treasurer of the Territory of Hawaii, and his record there not only as a financier, but also in his imbroglio with Governor Carter, who urgently demanded his resignation and which was stoutly refused, is still fresh in the minds of many.

A. N. Kepoikai has held many minor positions in the service of the people under various forms of government, such as member of the Wailuku Road Board, member of the Board of Registration for the Second Senatorial and Third Representative District, and similar posts of trust. He was also attorney for several of the largest plantations of Maui, such as the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company and the Wailuku Sugar Company.

He married Miss Rose Daniels, a daughter of the late W. H. Daniels, one of Maui's most able and honored citizens, and she has been to him a helpmate indeed.

He has taken the York Rite in the order of Masonry, and is also a

member of Hawaiian Lodge No. 21, F. and A. M., Honolulu Chapter No. 1, Honolulu Commandery No. 1, and a Knight Templar.

Mentally and physically Kepoikai is of the highest type of the Hawaiian race and one of whom his people may justly feel proud.

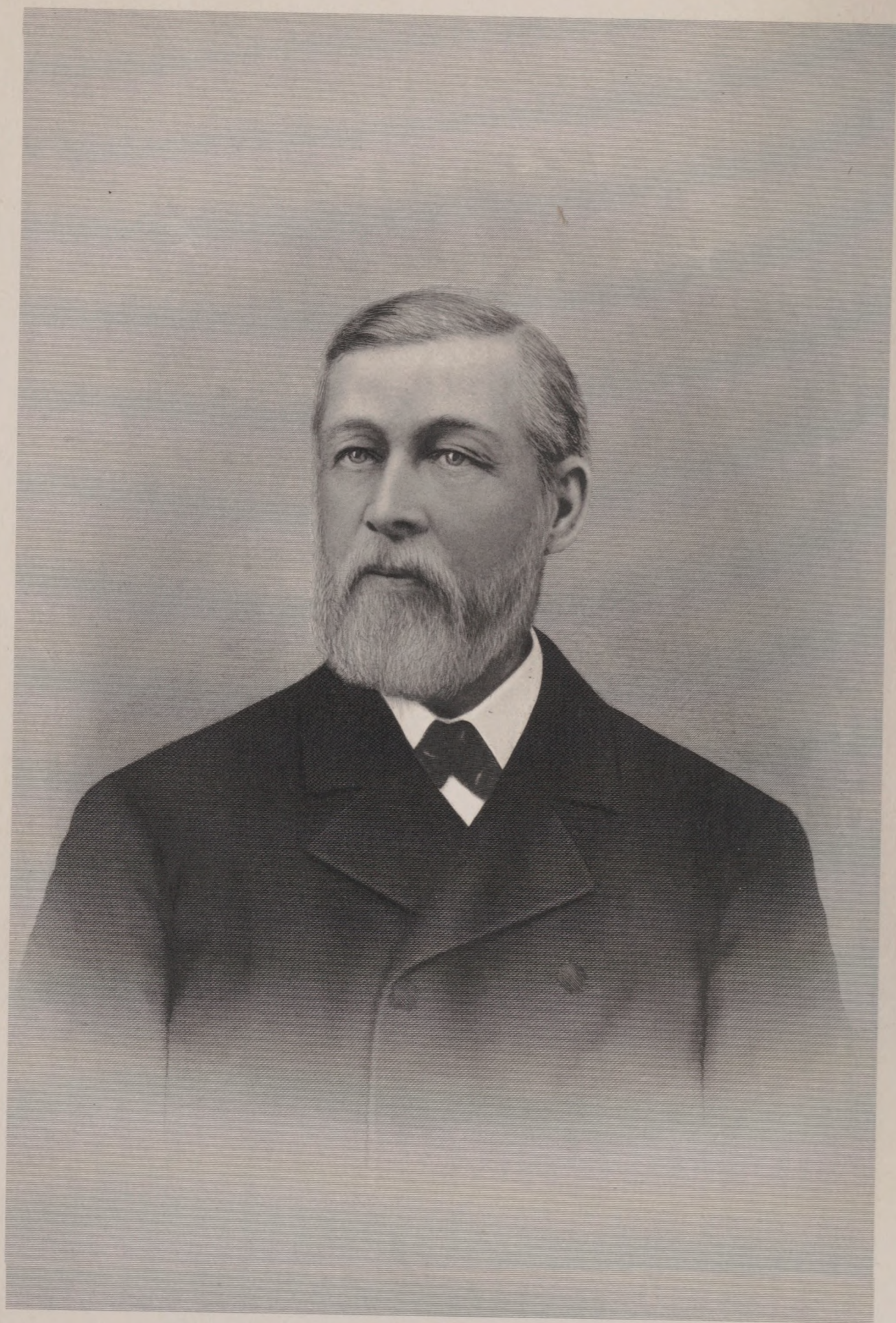
WALTER GAUNT COOPER.

The subject of this sketch, Walter Gaunt Cooper, was born in England in 1862. In 1885 he left his native country and went to New York City, where he engaged in the banking business in the Market and Fulton Bank, where he remained for three years. From there he went to Australia and after a two years' sojourn in the antipodes he returned to San Francisco, California, and again engaged in the banking business with the Anglo Californian Bank, where he remained till 1899. He then came to Honolulu and opened the First National Bank of Hawaii, of which he is now cashier. This bank was formerly the First American Bank of Hawaii. The capital stock of this bank is \$500,000, the surplus and undivided profits are \$72,512.75. United States deposits are \$393,863.51, deposits \$846,937.16.

The officers of the bank are: Cecil Brown, President; Mark P. Robinson, Vice President, and W. G. Cooper, Cashier. Directors: M. P. Robinson, August Dreier, and Bruce Cartwright.

JAMES A. KENNEDY.

James A. Kennedy was born in Scotland November 28, 1852, and educated there. He came to California in 1873. Here he remained until 1880 and engaged in the iron industry. He then came to the islands and associated himself with the Honolulu Iron Works. Here he remained until 1902. He then associated himself with the Inter-Island Steamship Company, which position he holds at the present



JAMES CAMPBELL

time. He is the president and general manager of the above company, having succeeded the late manager, John Ena.

The officers and capital of the company are as follows: James A. Kennedy, President; J. L. McLean, Vice President; C. H. Clapp, Secretary; N. E. Gedge, Treasurer; A. W. T. Bottomley, Auditor. The capital stock is \$600,000, and the following are the names of their steamers: Mauna Loa, Hanalei, W. G. Hall, Mikahala, Kauai, Niihau, Iwalani, Noeau, Ke Au Hou, Waialeale, James Makee, and the gasoline schooners Eclipse and Malolo. Their cable address is "Maunaloa" Code A. B. C. (Fifth edition.)

JAMES CAMPBELL.

James Campbell, whose business interests were always conducted along progressive lines and whose efforts proved of direct and permanent value in the upbuilding and progress of Honolulu, was born in Ireland, and reared in Londonderry, that country. From the Emerald Isle he made his way to the Fiji Islands as ship carpenter on a whaling vessel. Leaving the ship, he remained on the islands for some time and afterward went to Tahiti. He was afterward at Maui, where the first piece of work he there did was to make a cradle for his wife, who was then a baby. He found a partner who could furnish some capital, and together they operated in the sugar business, beginning operations, however, on a small scale, but gradually extending the scope of their business until they controlled an extensive and important trade. Their first mill was operated by horse power. Mr. Campbell owned all of the land where the town of Lahaina now stands, and the place was called by him the Pioneer Plantation. He sold this property in 1876 and turned his attention to the cattle industry on the Ewa plantation, as it is now called. A man of resourceful business ability, he did not confine his attention, however, to a single line, and in connection with cattle raising

did a large amount of building in Honolulu. He was the first one who started to improve the town according to modern ideas, and he bored the first well for artesian water. He also purchased the St. James hotel in San Jose, California. He possessed keen business insight and unflagging enterprise, quickly recognized opportunities, and through their improvement constantly enlarged the scope of his activities and became a prominent and prosperous business man. That his undertakings were conducted along the strictest lines of business integrity and honor is indicated by the fact that he never had a law suit in his life.

In October, 1877, Mr. Campbell was married to Miss Abigail Mainepine and they became the parents of four children: Abigail, who married Prince David; Alice; Muriel; and Beatrice. Mr. Campbell was a member of the Episcopal church. His life record was ended in death April 21, 1900, and his remains were interred in Honolulu.

LOUIS THEOPHILUS KENAKE.

One of Honolulu's most highly respected and valued citizens and one who is a credit to his birthplace, Charleston, old South Carolina, in which he was born June 12, 1868, is the subject of this sketch, Louis Theophilus Kenake. His father, Louis Kenake, who is now dead, was born in Germany, but at an early age came to the United States and became one of Charleston's best and most honored citizens, having for many years and during the Civil war occupied the position of chief of the Fire Department of that city. His mother, Levina Anne Syme, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and is at the present time a resident of San Francisco, California, in the enjoyment of good health.

Louis Theophilus Kenake, accompanied by his parents, moved from Charleston, South Carolina, to San Francisco, California, while he was still in his boyhood. After arriving there he entered the Lincoln Grammar School, from which he graduated with high honors, and he at once

entered commercial pursuits, which line he followed successfully for three and one-half years. At this time, like many other ambitious and aspiring young men, hearing of the wonderful opportunities for advancement in the Hawaiian Islands, he resolved to come to Honolulu, which step he has never had reason to regret. After arriving here he again entered the field of trade, where he remained until 1893, when he received the appointment of assistant postmaster, under the Provisional Government, which position he still occupies in connection with that of cashier.

Mr. Kenake was married September 6, 1903, to Miss Madge Redmond of San Francisco, who is a native daughter of the Golden West. Her family is one of the oldest and most respected of the above named city.

In the days of the monarchy and during those troublesome times, which is now a matter of history, and during King Kalakaua's reign, he was a member of the old Honolulu Rifles, which membership he held until they were disbanded. In 1893, when the militia was organized, he received a lieutenancy and was afterwards promoted to a captain on Governor Dole's staff. Upon the resignation of Governor Dole he was honorably retired.

While the duties of his office are such that he cannot take an active interest in political affairs, he is still an ardent and influential adherent to the interests and duties devolving upon him as a member of the Republican party.

During the revolutions of 1887 and 1893 and 1895 he took an active part, and throughout the many trying scenes which ensued he was both a loyal citizen and soldier, honored by his friends and feared by his enemies.

Mr. Kenake is a splendid representative of the old southern stock, being 6 feet 4½ inches in height, with a military bearing.

His face, while in repose, shows firmness and strength of purpose and a nature that, when once aroused to a point of determination, would brook no obstacle, but would move straight to the front, with shoulders back and head erect until the goal was reached.

He is a Mason and also an Elk. That he is a man competent to fill the requirements of his present position is a fact conceded by the entire community.

JOHN F. COLBURN.

Presumably there is no other country in the world in whose history the meritorious deeds of industrial heroism stand out so conspicuously as that of America and the gentleman whose name heads this sketch is an individual exemplar of that type of our rising young men. When yet but a mere lad he was found grappling successfully with all the responsibilities which would naturally be attendant upon one of more mature years and worldly knowledge. Firmly imbued with the truthfulness of the maxim that every man is the founder of his own fortune, he has worked energetically and untiringly towards that end, until to-day he stands pre-eminently among the class of men who form the foundation of this great republic, and who have left the imprint of their individuality upon the pages of our history.

John F. Colburn was born September 30, 1859, in Honolulu, on Maunakea street, at which time that thoroughfare was considered the fashionable one in the city. His father, John F. Colburn, was a native of Boston, Massachusetts, and came to the islands in early days. His name is mentioned in early reports of Hawaiian affairs. His mother was the daughter of Joseph Maughan, a sea captain who was the first pilot and harbormaster of Honolulu. His mother was born on her father's whaling vessel while returning from the Arctic. It was only by good luck that she reached the islands at all. Shortly after her birth a negro cook on board the whaler became jealous of his wife and set

fire to the ship and then cut his own throat. The crew were adrift in the open sea for five days in small boats, but eventually reached Honolulu. Mr. Colburn's great-grandfather, on his mother's side, was a Spaniard, one of the first foreign settlers of the islands, Pas de Paulo Marin. It was he who introduced the Bermuda grass and the chutney species of mango in the islands. The first mango tree which he planted from the seed is still to be seen near River and Vineyard streets. He afterwards imported the Spanish plum and prickly pear to the islands. He was private secretary to Kamehameha I. The diary which he kept was a most interesting one historically and was procured by the late Walter Murray Gibson and sent to Spain to be translated to English. The Hawaiian Historical Society have made repeated efforts to obtain this diary, but without success. He died in Honolulu, leaving one daughter, who is living at the present time, Mrs. Antoinette Swan of Santa Cruz, California.

Mr. Colburn of this review received his education at Oahu College, and after leaving that institution he entered the firm of Lewers & Dickson, which was the predecessor of the present firm of Lewers & Cooke. Here he remained for thirteen years, during which time he gained a most valuable business experience, and upon severing his connection with the firm he went into business for himself and remained with it seven years. His next move was in the real estate business, which he conducted for three years, and then took hold of the present Kapiolani estate for the heirs, which he incorporated and has successfully placed upon a business and financial basis. While not caring to enter the field of politics Mr. Colburn has held very important positions in serving the republic and was minister of the interior until the overthrow of the monarchy, and he also was a member of the Board of Health. He prefers, however, to devote his time more to his business interests, and to those interests which will depend upon him for their success.

AUGUST DREIER.

Every country is proud of its self-made men, and the Hawaiian Islands to-day furnish several examples of what can be done by a man of indomitable will and steadfastness of purpose, when these desirable attributes are backed up by sound business judgment and a determination to succeed in his undertakings. Perhaps no more striking example of this class of citizen could be recognized in the islands than Mr. August Dreier, the subject of this sketch. From boyhood he learned the greatest lesson of life—self-dependence—and although he has encountered obstacles which would have discouraged an ordinary man he has by sheer force of character risen above all disappointments and his ultimate triumph only reflects the more credit upon himself. In the world of to-day but very little credit is given the man who inherits a fortune and who is surrounded by the best of legal and commercial talent which combine to keep the inheritance intact. It is to the man who starts out with nothing but his brains and a good name and who, by the use of them, builds up a fortune and a place of honor and respect in his community, that the world gives credit. Such a man is August Dreier, and a brief sketch of his career will prove most interesting in the history of the Hawaiian Islands.

He is a native of the province of Hanover, Germany, and was born in 1841 at Gronau. When he was but 13 years of age he was apprenticed to learn the trade of machinist, and after serving his full time, during which he mastered the trade in all its details, he secured a certificate of ability as a machinist and engineer. He at once entered into his trade, and for seven years was employed in several of the large cities in Germany. His ability was soon recognized, and in 1866 he entered into a contract with Hoffschlaeger & Co. of Honolulu to erect a cotton mill at Waialua Falls, Kauai. He at once started for the islands, but



Eng By Henry Taylor & Chicago

Aug Meier

in the meantime the project had been abandoned, and on his arrival here he found himself in a strange land, without friends, and to make matters worse he could not speak the English language. For the ordinary young man the situation would have been desperate, but not so with Mr. Dreier. He had been accustomed to depending on his own efforts, and he soon secured a situation on the Lihue plantation as engineer, and for the next six years he worked hard and faithfully in this position. A part of this time he also worked as sugar boiler and did other work around the plantation. By so doing he acquired a thorough knowledge of sugar growing and extracting, and the knowledge so acquired has stood him in good stead ever since. At the end of six years he had acquired a good knowledge of English and Hawaiian and had also saved about \$3,000 from his earnings. Being of an ambitious temperament he decided to engage in the business of sugar planting on his own account, and in partnership with a Mr. A. Conrad went to Koloa and purchased the lease of a tract of land. His thorough knowledge of the business made the venture a paying one from the start, and after three years he bought his partner out. In 1876 he bought a half interest in the leasehold of what is now the Eleele plantation. The ground was covered with rocks and all of his friends tried to persuade him not to embark in this enterprise, but Mr. Dreier knew what he was doing, and he was thoroughly familiar with the character of the soil and other advantages the place had to offer. Here is the strong point in his character. Had he accepted the advice of his friends he would probably to-day occupy a mediocre position in the islands instead of being one of the leaders.

His self-reliance came to the front and he developed one of the finest plantations in the islands.

In 1876 Mr. Dreier married Miss Emma Titcomb and she has since presided over his house. They have five children; Emil, Adele

Puanani, Juanita, now deceased, August and Edward. Mr. and Mrs. Dreier and his family are very popular in society. He is recognized as a forceful man and withal one with kind heart, and his sterling qualities have endeared him to all who know him. He is charitable and delights in doing things which will give pleasure to others, and in his magnificent home a gracious hospitality is always extended. The islands are proud of Mr. Dreier and he numbers his friends by the hundreds. No man is more thought of nor more deservedly popular and he certainly deserves extended recognition in the history of the islands. Mr. Dreier was a member of the upper house of the legislature in the last period of the monarchy.

FREDERICK KLAMP.

The subject of this sketch, Frederick Klamp, was born in Hong Kong, China, August 14, 1863. His father, Capt. John Klamp, was engaged in the shipping business and was captain of his own vessel, which for many years plied between China, Japan and Singapore. After years of successful labor in this industry he amassed a comfortable fortune and retired from business. He now resides in Germany, his native land, where he is passing the remainder of his days in peace and comfort, surrounded by his many friends.

Frederick Klamp was educated in Bremen, Germany. After finishing his studies he served one year in the army, and then entered mercantile pursuits in his native country, and after three years of profitable experience in this business, he came to the islands November 22, 1885, and entered the firm of H. Hackfeld & Co. as a bookkeeper. After two years in this position, he was promoted to plantation manager for H. Hackfeld & Co. Mr. Klamp is a gentleman of pleasing address and affable manners, and with his extraordinary business tact, combined with the above attributes, it is the prediction of his many friends that



Samuel Parker

his future will be one of distinction and success. Mr. Frederick Klamp was married to Miss Agnes Gerard of Omaha, Nebraska. They have one child, a daughter, who at this writing is eight months old.

HON. SAMUEL PARKER.

Perhaps no better representative of the Hawaiian Islands lives today than the subject of this sketch, Hon. Samuel Parker. Born on the islands, he comes of a family that for several generations has occupied a prominent place in political and commercial affairs. A brief review of his life and his family will prove interesting. This gentleman's paternal grandfather, J. P. Parker, was an American citizen, who came to the Sandwich Islands in the early part of the nineteenth century, married a Hawaiian lady of distinction, and acquired enormous land interests. Two sons, J. P. Parker and Eben P. Parker, were the result of this union. Eben P. Parker also married a Hawaiian lady of noble birth, who became the mother of the subject of this sketch. While Samuel Parker was still a child his father died, as did—some years later—his grandfather, leaving the present subject, his two sisters and his uncle, J. P. Parker, his legatees. The property consists chiefly of an extensive cattle ranch on the Island of Hawaii, covering about 50,000 acres, and containing upwards of 20,000 head of cattle. There, in the year 1853, Mr. Parker was born, and there the principal part of his life may be said to have been spent. Although he has visited nearly every part of the United States, this gentleman has never been away from the islands for more than a few months at a time, and up to 1886, when he was appointed to a seat in the House of Nobles during the reign of Kalakaua, under the old constitution; and upon the adoption of the new constitution was re-elected to the seat from Hawaii, and held the office until February 25, 1891, when he was appointed premier and minister of foreign affairs—the highest office in the gift of her majesty. To this

office Mr. Parker gave his entire attention. In the direction of all the important matters which came under his department, he has shown remarkable aptitude, and no small degree of tact and diplomacy. Major Parker was the only member of that cabinet through whose veins flows the native Hawaiian blood, and he is beyond question one of the most prominent and popular Hawaiians in the islands. Mr. Parker married a Hawaiian lady in 1871, and has a family of eight children—five boys and three girls.

The Parker family having for three generations been possessed of great wealth, and being also of noble extraction, has always been on terms of friendship and intimacy with the royal family, and have long made a practice of giving gorgeous entertainments in their honor, as also in that of visitors of distinction. This intimacy, as well as the many services done the sovereign and the country by them, has caused the Parkers to be held in high esteem by the throne. There is no man in the country so profusely decorated with royal orders as is Major Parker, wearing as he does four out of five royal Hawaiian orders.

After the death of his first wife Mr. Parker again married, the lady of his choice being Mrs. Abigail Campbell, the widow of the late James Campbell, who was one of the most prominent men in the islands, and of whom an extended sketch appears in another part of this work. The family live to-day in a palatial residence on Waikiki Beach, and here hospitality and good fellowship reign supreme. Mr. Parker is a native born host and entertains in a royal way, and is equally popular with the Hawaiians and the people of foreign birth.

H. ARMITAGE.

One of the popular and successful business men of the Hawaiian Islands is Harry Armitage, the subject of this sketch. He is a native of New Zealand, born December 16, 1854. His education was acquired

in his native country, and for a time after leaving school he followed commercial business. Becoming dissatisfied with conditions there he embarked on the steamship Nebraska, and in April, 1871, arrived in Honolulu. Shortly afterward he entered the office of A. S. Cleghorn & Co., Ltd., one of the largest corporations in the country, and remained with them until 1883. His father's death occurred in New Zealand in 1863, and he returned there in 1883 to settle up the estate. His father was in the military service in New Zealand, and met his death during an engagement with the Maories. After he had settled up the estate he went into business there, which he continued for two years, but he never ceased to regard the Hawaiian Islands as his future home, and he accordingly wound up his business and returned here. He at once entered into the produce business and was very successful in this undertaking. During that period produce brought enormous prices, and Mr. Armitage was quick to grasp the situation, and his keen business judgment soon placed him on a firm financial standing. At the same time he was engaged in the photograph business with Mr. Williams, and later he went into business relations with Mr. J. F. Morgan, the auctioneer, which he continued until he started the brokerage business which he is now conducting. During the reign of King Kalakaua he was a member of Honolulu Rifles. He numbers his friends by the score, and to-day there is no more popular or successful man in Honolulu than Harry Armitage, the subject of this sketch.

HEINRICH M. VON HOLT.

In a compendium such as this work affords, it would be impossible to do justice to the business interests of the Hawaiian Islands, unless due reference was made to the subject of this sketch, Heinrich M. von Holt. Although still a young man he has indelibly stamped the imprint of his business individuality upon the commercial and financial annals

of the Islands, and to-day stands as one of the foremost representatives of its business interests.

The dominant factors in his success have been unswerving fidelity to business, a keen and unerring judgment, up-to-date methods and absolute integrity in all his dealings.

Heinrich M. von Holt was born in Honolulu, September 15, 1863, and comes of sturdy stock. His grandfather on his mother's side was Thomas Brown, one of the first settlers on the islands. He was originally in the coffee and live stock business on Kauai, and was subsequently registrar of conveyances on Oahu. It was in Honolulu at the advanced age of 84 that he died. His daughter (the mother of our subject) accompanied him from England, arriving here when but five years of age. She died recently and was universally mourned as a leader in works of religion and charity. Herman von Holt, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a native of Hamburg, Germany, and emigrated from the fatherland in 1851. On his arrival here, he at once engaged in mercantile pursuits in Honolulu, which he continued for sixteen years. His health failing, he determined on a sea trip for recuperation, but died at sea on June 10, 1867, on his way to Germany. Mrs. von Holt afterward married the Rev. Canon Alex. Mackintosh of St. Andrew's cathedral. He is a full cousin of the Mackintosh of Moy Hall, Inverness, Scotland. Our subject has two sisters living—Miss Marie Von Holt, living in Honolulu, and Mrs. Fred W. Glade, who is residing at present in Dresden, Germany. Her husband is a brother-in-law of the late Paul Isenberg.

Heinrich M. von Holt acquired his preliminary education at St. Alban's College in Honolulu, which was supplemented by study at the Royal School. He next attended Bishop Scott Grammar School in Portland, Oregon, from which he was graduated and returned to the islands in 1881. His first business was the handling of real estate, and with

it he associated a brokerage business. This was in connection with his uncle, Cecil Brown. In 1890, when the Oahu Railroad was incorporated, he was made trustee and the superintendent of its Ranch department, which position he still holds. He is also a commissioner of education, which position he has acceptably filled for over seven years. Mr. von Holt is also the consul for Holland. With most of the large commercial and financial enterprises of the islands he is closely associated, being a director of the railroad and holding business relations with other important matters of commercial activity. He has been a director of the First National Bank and of the Inter-Island Steamship Company on Oahu. He is interested in the Ewa and Honolulu plantations, the Oahu Sugar Company and the Waianae Company, and is vice-president of the Honolulu Soap Company. He also is financially interested in the Manufacturers' Shoe Company, the N. S. Sachs Dry Goods Company, the Inter-Island Steamship Company, and the Wireless Telegraph Company. In Kauai he is interested in the Kekaha Sugar Company, also the Hawaiian Sugar Company, and is trustee of the Knudsen estate on Kauai. On the Island of Hawaii he is a stockholder in the Hilo Railroad.

Mr. von Holt is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, and is chairman of its Harbor Shipping and Transportation Committee. He is also resident agent for the Niagara Fire Insurance Company, the Traders' Insurance Company and the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company.

On December 8, 1890, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, he was united in marriage to Miss Ida Knudsen of Kauai. Her father, Valdemar Knudsen, was one of the early settlers on the Island of Kauai and married Miss Annie Sinclair of the Sinclair, Gay and Robinson family of Kauai. He died in Honolulu in 1898, but Mrs. Knudsen is still living. Unto Mr. and Mrs. von Holt have been born five children: Mary

Elizabeth, aged 12, is attending school in Honolulu; Herman Valdemar, aged 10; Hilda Karen, aged 8; Alex. Ronald Kamehameha, 6, was born on the last day of the Hawaiian Republic, and is therefore the last of the Hawaiians; Katherine Annie, aged 3.

Mr. von Holt, while naturally kept busy with his multifarious interests, still finds time to attend to the duties of citizenship. He was chairman of the Central Committee of the "Reform" party in monarchical days, and is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal church and a church warden of St. Andrew's cathedral. He is associated with his uncle, Cecil Brown, president of the First National Bank, and attorney-at-law, and has the handling of a large amount of the local realty and also represents owners residing abroad. His residence at 422 Judd street is one of the beautiful homes of the city, and here hospitality reigns, both Mr. and Mrs. von Holt being recognized as important factors in the social life of Honolulu. He also has a residence at Waikiki and a summer home in the Waianae mountains. It can readily be seen that Mr. Von Holt belongs to that distinctive type of citizen to whom progress is ever a watchword, a man honored and respected by all, and no history of the Hawaiian Islands would be complete without due representation of him.

PRINCE DAVID KAWANANAKOA.

The subject of this sketch was born in Honolulu in 1868 and is a son of David Kahalepouli, his mother being Kekaulike, and the late queen dowager was his aunt, on his father's side. The late King Kalakaua was his cousin. Prince David's preliminary education was acquired in the public schools of Honolulu, after which he took a thorough course at Mathew's Hall at San Mateo, California. His education was completed in England, where he attended college. In 1891 he returned to Honolulu and entered the office of Foreign Affairs and continued in the



Thomas A. Edison

public service until 1893. He is a Democrat in politics, and was a delegate to the national convention held in Kansas City when William J. Bryan was nominated for the presidency. His brother, Prince Cupid, differs from him in politics, being a Republican, and is now a delegate to Washington from the Hawaiian Territory. Prince David has always been an industrious worker for his party, and it is certain that he will be heard from in the field of politics. He is one of the trustees of the Kapiolani estate, which consists principally of real estate located on all of the islands of the Hawaiian group. The estate is incorporated with a capital stock of \$300,000, and besides its real estate holdings it is largely interested in sugar. The offices of the estate are at the corner of King and Alakea streets, the office building being a fine fire-proof building, modern in every respect, with two stories and a basement, and with a foundation which will enable them at any time in the future to add two additional stories.

In February, 1901, Prince David was married to Miss Abigail Campbell, the daughter of the late James Campbell, of whom extended reference is made in other pages of this work. Two children have been born of this union, Miss Abigail, who is one year of age, and David, born in 1904. The prince and his family reside in a beautiful home in Honolulu and are among the leaders of the social circles in the city. Coming as he does of royal stock and being a progressive and ambitious citizen it is not strange that Prince David is numbered among the most popular citizens of the entire islands. Although a young man he has made his influence felt in political and business affairs, and as he stands to-day on the very threshold of manhood with an absolutely clean career behind him and coming of stock of which the whole world has heard it will indeed be surprising if Prince David does not attain and keep front rank with the foremost citizens of the country.

WILLIAM C. ACHI.

Born at N. Kohala, Hawaii, December 16, 1858; entered in common school of that District, and on July 9th, 1870, entered into Bond's Select School; on July 7th, 1873, entered the Hilo Boarding School, under the management of Rev. D. B. Lyman.

In July, 1876, entered the Lahainaluna Seminary and graduated in May, 1879; in September, 1879, entered the Oahu College. In January, 1882, entered as clerk in W. R. Castle's law office; in February, 1887, was licensed as a lawyer to practice in all courts of the country.

In November, 1897, he was elected a member of the House of Representatives from the Districts of Kohala, Konas and Kau, Island of Hawaii.

During the Legislature of 1898 he was elected a member of the council of state against Geo. R. Carter and S. K. Kane.

In November, 1900, he was elected a Senator for the first Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii from the Island of Oahu. In November, 1902, he was re-elected as a Senator from the Island of Oahu for four years; his present term will expire in November, 1906.

He is a lawyer by profession. He is one of the real estate dealers who dealt in big tracts during the last four years.

He has a son, who is now in the high class of St. Louis College, named William C. Achi, Jr.

AUGUST AHRENS.

The subject of this sketch was born in Hanover, Germany, March, 1856. There he received a thorough education in all that pertains to the sugar industry, and in 1879 he came to the Hawaiian Islands and engaged in the above industry with Mr. H. Widemann with whom he remained for seventeen years. He then became the manager of the



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Oahu Sugar Company, which position he occupied until recently. On this gigantic plantation of fourteen thousand acres he had under his supervision 1,800 men.

Before coming to Honolulu Mr. Ahrens was in the military service of his fatherland. His father was a farmer in the old country. His father and mother are both dead, his father having died in 1867. Mr. Ahrens has become a naturalized American citizen, and like all good Germans who take the oath of allegiance to Uncle Sam he is patriotic and loyal to his adopted country. He is a member of the Order of Masons and a Shriner. Mr. Ahrens is married and is the father of five children. One daughter is now attending school in Boston, and the other four children are attending school in Honolulu. Mr. Ahrens is giving his children a thorough and liberal education, and he has wisely decided, in the care of his sons, to give them the privilege after they have graduated of choosing professions for themselves, for which they feel the best qualified to make a success. Mr. Ahrens resides at his beautiful home in Wilder avenue, Honolulu, which he purchased on retiring from active plantation management.

CARL SHELDON HOLLOWAY.

Perhaps there is no better example of the sterling qualities of young American manhood than those exemplified in the character of the subject of this sketch, Carl Sheldon Holloway. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, May 9, 1874. He graduated from the Columbia Grammar School, after which he took a thorough course in civil engineering at Cornell College. He then entered the firm of Henry R. Worthington of New York City, where he remained for four years familiarizing himself with all the intricacies of pumping machinery. At the expiration of this time he became their outside man, representing the firm throughout the entire United States, which position he

held until 1897. It was at this time that his house received a very large and important contract of installing the engines on two of the largest plantations of the Hawaiian Islands. Mr. Holloway was given entire charge of this work, which required his presence for about one year in the islands. He then returned to the New York office and entered the sales department of the firm, where he remained until 1899, at which period the company was desirous of opening a branch office in Honolulu and Mr. Holloway was the man decided upon to carry out the details of their wishes and he accordingly returned to the islands, where he remained until 1901, when the house decided to close their Honolulu office. Mr. Holloway then engaged in the engineering and machinery business on his own account, which he carried on successfully until November, 1904, when he received his present appointment of Superintendent of Public Works.

His father was born in Uniontown, Ohio, in 1824, and like his son he was always active and energetic in business pursuits. He was president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and also president of the Engineers' Club of New York City. He was highly respected by all his fellow members and although he is now dead his memory is still revered by all his old associates who are now living.

His mother, Anna C. Sheldon, was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1846, in which city she is still living in the enjoyment of good health.

Mr. Carl Sheldon Holloway is married and resides in his beautiful home with his charming family, on the corner of Judd and Tilska streets.

FREDERICK MEYER.

The gentleman whose name heads this sketch was born in South Carolina March 3, 1862. He came to the islands in 1882 and took up his residence on the Island of Hawaii. Here he engaged in the

sugar industry, which he pursued upon this island for about seven years, at the expiration of which time he moved to the Island of Maui, where he again engaged in the sugar business in the employ of the Spreckels people, upon their plantation there. At the expiration of nine years upon this plantation, he came to Honolulu and became the plantation manager for J. M. Dowsett. He has 500 men in his employ, and the annual output of sugar of this plantation is about 55,000 tons. Mr. Meyer is essentially a man to his business; and the cultivation and production of sugar has been his life's study, and there are perhaps but few men on the islands who possess so thorough a knowledge of all its details, and can look back upon their work of the past with a greater sense of satisfaction and pride. Mr. Meyer is the happy father of nine children, the oldest of whom is twenty-one years of age and is now attending school in Honolulu. Two of his sons, one nineteen, and one seventeen years of age, are assisting their father upon the plantation, where they are receiving their education in the sugar industry, with the hope of emulating their father's success when they have attained their majority. On this plantation of 16,000 acres there is ample room for these young men to possess themselves of the knowledge requisite to a thorough education in the vocation of their choice. Mr. Meyer is a southern gentleman of genial manners and hospitable nature and is esteemed by all who know him as one of Hawaii's most honored citizens.

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